

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS ALLIANCE
IN SOUTH AFRICA 1947-1956

by

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ABSTRACT

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Prior to the arrest of 156 leading Congressmen and Congresswomen, in December 1956, the Congress Alliance, a multiracial political coalition had sponsored, planned, and promoted domestic and international political initiatives to redress the grievances of its South African constituency. This history will assess the Congress Alliance's political agenda. To accomplish that end, this thesis will draw upon a variety of source materials, many emanating from the Congress Alliance shelf, i.e., presidential addresses, constitutions, flyer/leaflets, public and private conferences, mass meetings, minutes, speeches, detective and United Nations reports, etc. These source materials will help to reconstruct a political history of the Congress Alliance. The overriding theme of this study is multiracial political opposition to State sanctioned oppression: legal discrimination, social segregation, economic exploitation, and political disenfranchisement. This thesis examines, therefore, the evolution of joint political strategies, priorities, programmes, and pressure tactics employed by the Coalition against the South African government. It presents a case study of a nonviolent political struggle for liberty, democracy, equality, and human rights.

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DEDICATION

To My Wife and Friend
Roberta Elizabeth Haines

PREFACE

The Congress Alliance was a unique political coalition primarily because it was not predicated upon race or class ideology, but upon liberal democratic concepts that were consistent with the principles of human equality proclaimed by the United Nations Charter (1945) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Human solidarity was the dominant characteristic of the coalition. It was the common political expression of Africans, Asians, Coloureds, and Europeans; of Christians, Hindus, Jews, and Muslims; of Capitalists, Communists, Democrats, Nationalists, and Socialists; of professional and Western educated elites as well as of manual, skilled, and semi-skilled workers; of women as well as men. The coalition was comprised of the following political organisations:

African National Congress	ANC
African National Congress Women's League	ANCWL
African National Congress Youth League	ANCYL
African National Congress - Cape Province	ANC-Cape
African National Congress - Natal Province	ANC-Natal
African National Congress - Orange Free State	ANC-O.F.S.
African National Congress - Transvaal Province	ANC-Tvl.
Federation of South African Women	FSAW
South African Coloured People's Organisation	SACPO
South African Communist Party	SACP
South African Congress of Democrats	SACOD
South African Congress of Trade Unions	SACTU
South African Indian Congress	SAIC
Natal Indian Congress	NIC
Natal Indian Youth Congress	NIYC
Transvaal Indian Congress	TIC
Transvaal Indian Youth Congress	TIYC

South African Peace Council	SAPC
Natal Peace Council	NPC
Transvaal Peace Council	TPC
South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union	SASPFSSU

In December 1956, the South African government ordered the arrest of 140 men and 16 women who were among the leading political activists in the Congress Alliance. Of those incarcerated by the State, 97 were African males, 7 were females; 20 were Asian males, 1 was female; 17 were European males, 6 were females; 6 were Coloured males; 2 were females.¹ The outcome of this mass arrest was the South African Treason Trial of December 1956 to March 1961, an event which has already proved to be of very considerable interest to scholars.² By sharp contrast, very little has been written of the basic stages of development shaping the character, attending the formation, and influencing the emergence of the Coalition. An excellent essay has been written on the theme by the political scientist, Thomas Karis.³ However, a historical monograph on the rise of this multi-racial political coalition has been clearly needed to fill a void in South African historiography. The primary purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to fill that void by reconstructing a documented narrative political history of the Congress Alliance prior to the Treason Trial. The major theme of this study is multiracial opposition. This thesis will not attempt

¹For a list of the 156 trialists, see Appendix A.

²See the bibliography in Thomas Karis, The Treason Trial in South Africa: A Guide to the Microfilm Record of the Trial (Stanford, Calif., 1965), pp. 122-124.

³Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter, From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964, 4 vols. (Stanford, Calif., 1977), vol. 3: Challenge and Violence 1953-1965, by Thomas Karis and Gail M. Gerhart, pp. 3-82.

to focus upon political organisations or movements that were not members of the Congress Alliance.

There are several interpretations that a political historian could employ to illuminate the historical dynamics of the politics of oppression and tyranny on the one hand, and the politics of human liberty and equality, on the other. The most obvious interpretations are the nationalist (race struggle) and the marxist (class struggle).¹ This thesis will, based upon the socio-political argument raised collectively by the Coalition, consciously posit a liberal democratic interpretation herein defined as egalitarianism/human rights struggle. It is assumed that the reader is familiar with the political assumptions of Jean Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract; Henry David Thoreau, Civil Disobedience; John Stuart Mill, On Liberty; and John Dewey and James H. Tufts, Ethics, as they will be applied throughout the study to answer the fundamental human rights thesis question raised by the multiracial opposition: By what right does the Government rule?

¹ T. R. H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History (London, 1977), p. 370; and Bernard Makosezwe, The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa (London, 1979).

PROLOGUE
THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COALITION

For over sixty years, the Congress Movement waged a nonviolent political struggle for liberty, democracy, and human rights. During that period of time, this revolutionary reform movement gave rise to two of the world's most charismatic nonviolent revolutionists, Mahatma K. Gandhi in the pre-World War I era and Chief Albert J. Lutuli in the post-World War II period. Both leaders were outstanding spokesmen for egalitarianism in South Africa. Gandhi opened the liberal reformist phase of the political struggle in 1894. Lutuli presided at its watershed as the rise of the paramilitary UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, in 1961, began the era of armed revolution for national liberation. This study will concentrate on the pre-Treason Trial period of 1947-1956. However, the alliance of the Congresses cannot be fully understood without an examination, albeit necessarily brief, of the earlier political development.

Gandhi founded the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), the oldest wing of the multiracial political coalition, on 22 May 1894.¹ From the outset, this South African Asian nationalist movement was closely linked with the Indian National Congress. While upper class Indians, many with a Western education, comprised the basic component of the NIC, membership was extended to all classes of Indians in Natal, indentured labourers,

¹M. K. Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa (Ahmedabad, India, (1928) 1972), p. 42; M. K. Gandhi, Gandhi; An Autobiography (Boston, Mass., 1957), p. 149; and Indians in South Africa: Growth of Political Organizations (pamphlet) Treason Trial Evidence of Regina v. Farid Adams and Twenty-Nine Others, Reel 11, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

emancipated Indians, Christians, Hindus, Muslims, and Parsis. The first political initiative of the NIC was to oppose the Disfranchisement Bill and the Poll Tax of 1894. The Natal Legislative Assembly had sought to restrict the parliamentary franchise to Indians who were on the voting roll prior to 1894. This meant, in substance, that new Asian immigrants to the Colony would be denied basic civil and political rights. The Disfranchise Bill of Natal would be in conformity with similar discriminatory enactments passed by the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal Colony which deprived Asians of full citizenship rights. A decade earlier, Asians had been legally barred from domiciling in the Orange River Colony. In the Transvaal Colony, Indians fared slightly better; Law 3 of 1885 had restricted their freedom of movement, access to adequate housing, and the opportunity for commercial expansion. By contrast, the lawmakers in the Cape Colony were far more liberal and the disfranchisement of Asian immigrants was not a major public issue at this time.

Under the strong and intelligent leadership of Gandhi, Indians in the Natal Colony united under the banner of the NIC to protest discriminatory treatment. Gandhi believed that "the local Government was about to introduce a Bill to Disfranchise Indians, which could only be the beginning of the end of what little rights they were enjoying."¹ To register its opposition to the Government's plan to deny voting rights to the Natal Asian community, the NIC submitted a memorial with an appendix consisting of four hundred signatures to the Natal Legislative Assembly. This direct political action may have surprised the lawmakers, but it certainly did not deter them from passing the discriminatory bill. When the NIC did not

¹Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa, p. 40.

receive satisfaction from the responsible government of Natal, they prepared a second memorial with an appendix of nearly ten thousand signatures and presented it to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Ripon. Following this political action by the NIC, Lord Ripon disallowed the Disfranchise Bill. He "declared that the British Empire could not agree to the establishment of a colour bar in legislation."¹ Unfortunately, this initial success by the Indians was nullified. A second bill was immediately proposed by the Natal government that was more acceptable to Lord Ripon. However, this new formulation was oblique, ambiguously worded, and did not specifically disenfranchise Asians on racial grounds. T. R. H. Davenport comprehended the subtlety of the Franchise Act of 1896, for "the parliamentary vote was to be denied to people whose countries of origin did not have representative institutions founded on the Parliamentary franchise."² India was under Imperial domination. Lawmakers of the Natal Colony had misused their power and authority by refusing to grant the franchise to all people without restrictions. The end effect of their cleverly written bill was to limit the political freedom of the Indians in Natal.³

The Poll Tax was the second discriminatory bill introduced in 1894 by the Natal Legislative Assembly. The lawmakers in Natal proposed to impose an exorbitant annual poll tax of £ 25 or 375 rupees on Indians emancipated from indentured servitude. Gandhi assessed the Asian community's reaction to the tax:

We organised a fierce campaign against this tax. If the Natal Indian Congress had remained silent on the subject, the

M.¹Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa, p. **27**

²Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, p. 92.

³Kogila A. Moodley, "South African Indians: The Wavering Minority," in Change in Contemporary South Africa, ed. L. Thompson and J. Butler, (Los Angeles, Calif., 1975), pp. 257-258.

Viceroy (Lord Elgin) might have approved of even twenty-five pounds tax. The reduction from twenty-five pounds to three pounds was probably due solely to the Congress agitation. ¹

The idea of forced repatriation of emancipated Indian labourers seemed to have motivated the Natal Legislative Assembly to introduce the Poll Tax enactment. The lawmakers wanted the vast majority of the Asian community to repatriate, renew their indenture, or pay the annual tax. Sir Henry Binns and Mr. Mason, Colonial representatives of the Natal government, tried to convince Lord Elgin to approve the proposed bill; Lord Elgin refused and reduced the amount to a 'more reasonable' sum of three pounds annually. In human terms, the tax amounted to nearly a half-year's wages. A poor indentured labourer was forced to pay taxes on his male children, sixteen years or older, on his wife, and on his daughters who had reached the age of thirteen. At this time, the average monthly income of an indentured Indian was fourteen shillings per month. Clearly, the Poll Tax Bill was a hardship upon the poverty-stricken Indian labourer. Both the Disfranchise Bill/Franchise Act of 1896 and the three pound Poll Tax of 1895 were overt acts by the government of Natal that eroded the frail political and economic base of the Asian community. There were, at that time, approximately eighty thousand Indians in Natal. Ten thousand were free Indians, ten thousand ex-indentured and sixty thousand indentured Indians. The entire Indian community experienced the severe disabilities legally imposed upon them by the Legislative Assembly. However, the Natal Indian Congress remained committed to resistance.

In 1894, the NIC founded the Colonial-born Indian Educational Association for Indian Youths. This body served to organise the literate

¹Gandhi, Gandhi, An Autobiography, pp. 155-158; and Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa, p. 26.

Indians into a political force. Additionally, Gandhi also used propaganda to organise resistance. Two of his more important publications in this effort were An Appeal to Every Briton in South Africa and The Indian Franchise - An Appeal. In 1903, Gandhi also established and edited a newspaper, The Indian Opinion. These publications of Gandhi, in addition to the speeches by NIC spokesmen, were designed to inform liberals in the Empire of the plight of the Asian community in South Africa.¹

In 1897, the Natal Legislative Assembly passed an anti-Asiatic law that limited free Indian migration to the Colony. Free immigrants were required by law to prove their mastery of an European language. By this time, the government's objectives were clear; Indians could work in Natal, but they must not be allowed to compete politically or economically with Europeans. Asiatics were not permitted to engage in agribusiness or commerce in the Orange River Colony. They were also deprived of citizenship and property rights in the Transvaal Colony.

Gandhi and Asia were not the only outside influence on the Congress Movement. African-Americans and Europeans also began to influence the South African scene. The British missionary, Joseph Booth, launched an enterprise named the African Christian Union in Natal in 1896. To expand his political influence and promote his programme, Booth visited the United States in 1897 and met with several African-Americans, the most prominent being the Pan-Africanist, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Booth also published a booklet entitled Africa for the African in Baltimore, Maryland, the same year. Booth's political ideas were outlined in his publication:

These involved securing capital for Industrial Missions; demanding equal rights for people of African origin; seeking the participation of every man, woman and child of the African

¹Gandhi, Gandhi, An Autobiography, p. 152.

race, especially those in the United States and the Caribbean; developing agricultural, manufacturing, and mining enterprises as well as means of transport; Back to Africa repatriation and training of Africans in modern techniques; guiding labor toward upliftment and commonwealth; calling upon Europeans to return lands to the Africans; publishing literature in the interest of the African race and pursuing the policy of Africa for the African and hastening a united African Christian Nation! 1

In the 1920's, Marcus Garvey gave concrete political expression to Booth's slogan, "Africa for the African!"² and it became the rallying cry of the Pan-African Congress in South Africa nearly two generations later. Joseph Booth was also the mentor of the African nationalist, Rev. John Chilembwe. Booth aided Chilembwe financially, making it possible for Chilembwe to become educated in Lynchburg, Virginia, at an African-American seminary. Chilembwe returned to Nyasaland, in 1900, as an ordained minister accredited by the National Baptist Convention Foreign Mission Board. In 1915, Rev. Chilembwe led a revolt in Nyasaland that cost his life.³

Two other African nationalists, Rev. John L. Dube and D. D. T. Jabavu, were equally influenced by their contact with African-Americans. The Reverend Dube was closely linked to Booker T. Washington. Educated in America, Dube spent some time at Tuskegee University and returned to Natal to establish the Zulu Christian Industrial School at Ohlange, not far from Phoenix, Natal. D. D. T. Jabavu, a graduate of the University of London, visited Tuskegee University in 1913. Jabavu, with

¹Okon Edet Uya, Black Brotherhood: Afro-Americans and Africa, (Lexington, Mass., 1971), p. 161.

²Amy J. Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey or Africa for the Africans (London, 1967).

³George Shepperson and T. Price, Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915 (Edinburgh, 1958).

the aid of his father, John Tengo Jabavu, founded the South African Native College at Fort Hare in 1916. Interaction between African-Americans and Africans in the Diaspora was intensified by their commonly shared problems of racial oppression and domination. Gandhi himself also highlighted the problem of racism against African-Americans:

Even in the United States of America, where the principle of statutory equality has been established, a man like Booker T. Washington who has received and has fully assimilated Western civilization, was not considered fit for admission to the court of President Roosevelt. . . . The Negroes of the United States have accepted Western civilization. They have embraced Christianity. But the black pigment of their skin constitutes their crime, and if in the Northern States they are socially despised, they are lynched in the Southern States on the slightest suspicion of wrongdoing. ¹

Several sociological factors had culminated in the nineteenth century to provide moral justification for racialism. For example, racism had been intellectualised by Count Arthur de Gobineau, Essay on the Inequality of Races; Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Foundations of the Nineteenth Century; Madison Grant, The Passing of the Great Race; Lothrop Stoddard, The Rising Tide of Colour, and the Social Darwinists. These pseudo-scientists may, in fact, be counted among the ideological fathers of Dr. Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd who studied at the Universities of Hamburg, Leipzig, and Berlin in Germany in the nineteen twenties and later became the major intellectual propagandist for apartheid in South Africa.

In 1897, J. Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, appointed Sir Alfred Milner as High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony. Prime Minister H. H. Asquith received a correspondence from Milner in

¹Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa, pp. 85-86. For the impact of racialism on both countries, see George Fredrickson, White Supremacy: A Comparative Study of American and South African History (New York, 1981).

November 1897 wherein the High Commissioner stated:

I remain firmly of the opinion that, if it were not for my having some conscience about the treatment of the blacks, I personally could win over the Dutch in the (Cape) Colony and indeed in all of the South African dominions in my term of office, and I could do so without offending the English. You have only to sacrifice the nigger absolutely and the game is easy. . . . 1

Milner sharply illustrated the process of rationalising racism; one need only to sacrifice human beings. Racialists in South Africa built a political and economic power structure upon white nationalism after the Boer War.

In the Anglo-Boer War, a violent clash between British Imperialism on the one hand, and Afrikaner Nationalism, on the other, African participation was limited to that of servants, wagon-drivers, labourers, dispatch riders, convoy guards, messengers, and the like. Thousands of Africans were displaced, uprooted and forced into concentration camps where many died.² The Indians, in turn, formed an Ambulance Corps that served during the war. The Indian community had a strong explanation for their involvement in the conflict. They were British subjects and as Asians, Gandhi argued, were proud of their British citizenship. "What little rights we still retain, we retain because we are British subjects."³ His statement had been influenced in part by the pre-war declarations of Lord Selbourne, Lord Landsdowne, and other high officials who claimed that the ill-treatment of Indians by the Boers was one of the factors that caused the war.

The Treaty of Vereeniging was signed in Pretoria on 31 May 1902. Article Eight of the Terms of Peace set the stage for institutionalised

¹G. H.L. LeMay, British Supremacy in South Africa 1899-1907 (London, 1965), p. 11.

²Davenport, South Africa, A Modern History, pp. 144-146.

racism in the Union of South Africa. This infamous article deferred civil and political rights for the vast majority of British subjects in the country by stating that "the question of granting the franchise to natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government."¹ Men in very high places had failed themselves and the democratic tradition. Lord Kitchener, Lord Milner, and J. Chamberlain, acting in the name of King Edward VII of Great Britain, conspired with Mr. Steyn, General Bremner, General C. R. DeWet, Judge Hertzog, General Schalk Burger, General Reitz, General Louis Botha, General Smuts, and General De La Rey, to postpone democracy, liberty and equality under law for people of colour. Bernard Magubane argues that:

The Anglo-Boer War was a classic case of thieves' falling out, and the Treaty of Vereeniging and the Union of South Africa were a constitutional reconciliation between the intruders. Britain had seven years of supreme authority after the Anglo-Boer War in which to give the African and coloured people of South Africa a new deal. But like their American offspring, instead of standing for democracy and the possibility of human brotherhood, the British rationalised human hatred and entrenched it in the constitution. 2

Magubane clearly did not overstate his case. Article Eight of the Terms of Peace was a low-mark in constitutional government. The Simonses give General Smuts credit for drafting this particular article.³ The Imperial Government squandered its opportunity to enforce the democratic

³Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa, p. 66; and Edward Roux, Time Longer Than Rope (Madison, Wisc., 1972), p. 104.

¹"Terms of Peace with the Boers," New York Times, 3 June 1902; see also N. Mansergh's essay of Vereeniging, South Africa 1906-1961: The Price of Magnanimity (London, 1962).

²Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, p. 48.

³H. J. and R. E. Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950 (Middlesex, England, 1969), pp. 60-64.

principle of equal allocation of human rights in South Africa. Simons stated:

Britain expressed great concern for the sufferings of Africans, Coloureds, and Indians in the Transvaal, and professed to be fighting for their freedom and to extend the rights and liberties of the common people. . . . But Africans, Coloureds, and Indians obtained no relief either at the peace settlement or in the post-war reconstruction. ¹

The political rights, civil rights, and human rights of the Africans, Asians, and Coloureds had been sacrificed on the altar of white supremacy; the British government was an accomplice before and after the fact. The human rights dietum written by Thomas Jefferson stands in sharp opposition to the political action taken by the British government and the Boers in South Africa.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that when any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it ²

The British government was well-aware of these human rights concepts which were deeply rooted in Western political thought. Human beings who are compelled by undemocratic laws to face each day of their existence without liberty, equality, citizenship, and constitutional safeguards of their individual freedoms are merely property of the State - a tyrannical despotic State to be precise.

As the Boer War was concluding, save for the mopping-up operations, Ethiopianists and Pan-Africanists from throughout the Diaspora convened

¹Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, pp. 60-64.

²"Declaration of Independence of the United States of America," 1776.

the first Pan-African Conference in London, England, in 1900. A year earlier, Tengo Jabavu had participated in the planning session for the international conference.

The Conference was welcomed by the Lord Bishop of London and a promise was obtained from Queen Victoria, through J. Chamberlain, not to overlook the interests and welfare of the native races. ¹

Following the 1900 Pan-African Conference, W. E. B. DuBois published his sociological classic, The Souls of Black Folk. In his study, DuBois identified the "colour line" as a human problem with vast social and geographical dimensions. He further recommended to people of colour that they employ a "peaceful method" in their struggle to obtain "the rights" which other members of the human family enjoyed. This triad, (1) a peaceful method, (2) the colour line, and (3) human rights, coalesced well with the teachings of Gandhi.² Thus, before the formation of the Union of South Africa, Asian nationalists and African nationalists were agreed on the problem, the means, and the ends. Their successors remained committed to the triad, particularly to the means. At the Fifth Pan-African Congress held at Manchester, England, in 1945, African nationalists endorsed a programme of Positive Action based upon "the techniques of non-violent resistance developed and refined by Gandhi"³ in South Africa. In 1949, Kwame Nkrumah, a participant at the Fifth Pan-African Congress and the future President of Ghana, stated:

The weapons were legitimate political agitation, newspaper and educational campaigns and, as a last resort, the constitutional

¹George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism (New York, 1972), p. 96; see also W. E. B. DuBois, The World and Africa (New York, 1965), p. 7.

²W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (Chicago, Ill., 1935), pp. vii, 59.

³Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism, p. 129.

application of strikes, boycotts and non-cooperation based on the principle of absolute nonviolence, as used by Gandhi in India. ¹

The African National Congress adopted the same "Programme of Action"

at the annual conference of the ANC as late as 17 December 1949.²

Clearly the politics of nonviolent action was an instrument that major Pan-Africanists and Pan-Asianists employed to combat colonialism, imperialism, and racialism, and to effect social change.

As would be expected, there was nonviolent political opposition to the institutionalisation of legal social inequality from 1902 to 1910. In 1902, the African Political Organisation (APO) was founded in Cape Town. This organisation became the second wing of the Congress Movement. Its official name was changed twice; first to the African Peoples Organisation, and in 1953, to the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation (SACPO). Branches were opened in both the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies. Africans and Indians were welcomed to join the new movement and a few, in fact, did. However, their numbers were never significant. Mr. W. Collins was elected as the first president of the APO with the assistance of a fellow member, John Tobin. Leo Kuper has rightly established that this movement "was the first political organisation of non-Europeans from all parts of South Africa."³ Intellectuals, businessmen, Muslims, Christians,

¹Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana: Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah (London, 1957), pp. 111-112.

²Nelson Mandela, The Struggle is My Life (London, 1978), pp.28-29.

³Leo Kuper, "African Nationalism in South Africa, 1910-1964," in Oxford History of South Africa 1870-1966, vol. 2, ed. M. Wilson and L. Thompson, (London, 1975), pp. 428-429; see also L. Thompson, Unification of South Africa 1902-1910 (London, 1960), pp. 275-276.

students, and workers joined the movement. A rivalry developed between political factions within the movement that nearly split the APO over the issue of whether the Coloured voters in the Cape should endorse the Bond-dominated South African Party or Jameson's Progressives.¹ A skillful leader was needed that could reconcile the internal conflict and prevent the complete fragmentation of the new movement. Dr. A. Abdurahman, who had joined the Cape Town branch of the APO in 1904, emerged in 1905 as the compromise president. Abdurahman, both a medical doctor and a Councillor to the Cape Town Council, provided a vigorous and virtually unchallenged leadership of the APO until his death in 1940. His first of many political initiatives was to lead an unsuccessful fight against the Cape School Board Act of 1905. This act mandated that education for white children would be free and compulsory. At the same time, it prohibited coloured youth from receiving the same benefits.²

The APO sent Dr. Abdurahman and Mr. P. J. Daniels to London in 1906 to petition the new British liberal government for the extension of political and civil rights to Coloureds who lived in the Orange River and the Transvaal Colonies. Africans and Coloureds had enjoyed a qualified franchise in the Cape since the 1850's; free Indians enjoyed limited voting rights in Natal. The APO's petition for the extension was denied. Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage accurately assessed that the liberal government "forgot the obligations Britain had towards the non-

¹Davenport, South Africa, A Modern History, p. 155.

²Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, p. 118; Davenport, South Africa, A Modern History, p. 155; and David Welsh, "The Growth of Towns," in Oxford History, vol 2, ed. Wilson and Thompson, p. 228.

European inhabitants of South Africa, Bantu, Coloured and Indian."¹

The Orange River Colony and the Transvaal Colony were granted local autonomy at this time (1906-1907) and both governments promptly drafted constitutions which were racist and undemocratic. Indeed, Britain's liberal government failed to prevent this gross violation of human rights while it had the legal prerogative.

On 22 August 1906, a draft of the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance was published in the Transvaal Government Gazette Extraordinary. The Transvaal Legislative Council had determined that every Asiatic who resided in the Transvaal must register with the Registrar of Asiatics and complete a document called a Certificate of Registration. This Ordinance was applicable to children who had reached eight years of age and to all adult Asians. The Ordinance required that Indians be fingerprinted give their names, addresses, ages, caste, and other identifying information. Failure to comply meant incarceration, fines, and even deportation. This Ordinance, and the Transvaal Immigration Restriction Act 1907, which will be discussed in turn, was drafted by the Colonial Secretary in Botha's Transvaal government, General Smuts. In Johannesburg on 11 September 1906, the Transvaal British Indian Association (later known as the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), 1927) assembled to develop a strategy for opposing the Ordinance. The conference was chaired by Abdul Gani, a Johannesburg businessman and Chairman of the TBIA. The convention pledged not to cooperate with the unjust Ordinance and passed a resolution that committed those affected by it to Satyagraha if the Ordinance was passed. Memorials were presented to the Legislative Council. The Colonial Secretary, Sir Patrick Duncan, met with an Indian delegation

¹Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa (Middlessex, England, 1973), p. 230.

to discuss the issue. As a result of the meeting, Duncan convinced Smuts and Botha to delete the clause affecting Indian women from the Ordinance before it became law.

The Indian movement, in the hope of convincing the Imperial government to disallow the law, empowered Mr. H. O. Ali, a leading Muslim member of the TBIA, and Gandhi to plead the Indians' case in London. A memorial was submitted to Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, and Lord Elgin, Secretary of State for the Colonies. According to Gandhi, Lord Elgin declined to advise His Majesty the King to give the royal assent to the enactment for the following reason:

The Transvaal was then represented by Sir Richard Solomon, the noted lawyer of South Africa. Lord Elgin had disallowed the Black Act in consultation with him. Responsible government was to be conferred on the Transvaal on January 1, 1907. Lord Elgin then assured Sir Richard that if an identical measure was passed by the Transvaal legislature constituted after the grant of responsible government, it would not be refused the royal assent. But so long as the Transvaal was a Crown Colony, the Imperial Government would be held directly responsible for such class legislation, and as racial discrimination was a departure from the fundamental principles of the British Empire, he could not but advise His Majesty to disallow the measure in question. ¹

In spite of Great Britain's stance on anti-Asiatic discriminatory laws as outlined by Lord Elgin, Prime Minister Botha warned the Imperial Conference of 1907 that the British government should not interfere in the "internal business" of the Transvaal Colony.²

Once "responsible government" was granted to the Transvaal, the new Parliament enacted a revised version of the Ordinance entitled the Asiatic Registration Act. This Act became operative 1 July 1907; all

¹Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa, p. 115; also see pp. 91-92 for the development of the problem.

²Paul Knaplund, The British Empire 1815-1939 (New York, 1941), p.673.

Asians were to comply by 31 July 1907. This Act also applied to Chinese residents of the Transvaal. Indentured Chinese labour had been introduced into the Transvaal under the Chinese Labour Ordinance of 1904. The ill-treatment of Chinese labourers became a sensitive political issue in Britain and the Transvaal. As a result, the majority of the Chinese were repatriated in 1906-1907. Mr. Quinn, the outspoken leader of the Chinese Association in Johannesburg, worked indirectly with the Indians and therefore, both Asian communities pledged themselves to the Satyagraha struggle under their respective organisations.

A second law, the Transvaal Immigrants Restriction Bill (Act 15) of 1907 authored by General Smuts, was passed by the Transvaal Legislature during 1907. This Act followed the guidelines of Natal's anti-Indian legislation of 1897. It restricted Asian immigration into the Transvaal. Both of the 1907 Acts prompted Gandhi to call for total Satyagraha. By January 1908, Satyagrahi prisoners had increased, and the negotiations between the Government and the Asian community had deadlocked. Mr. Albert Cartwright, editor of the Transvaal Leader, attempted to mediate a breakthrough. He met with Gandhi and Smuts; an agreement was reached whereby the Asians would voluntarily register and the Government, in turn, would repeal the "Black Act." Gandhi halted the nonviolent campaign.

But instead of repealing the Black Act, General Smuts took a fresh step forward. He maintained the Black Act on the statute book and introduced into the legislature a measure, validating the voluntary registrations effected and the certificates issued subsequent to the date fixed by the Government in terms of the Act, taking the holders of the voluntary registration certificates out of its operation, and making further provision for the registration of Asiatics. Thus there came into force two concurrent pieces of legislation with one and the same object, and freshly arriving Indians as well as even later applicants for registration were still subject to the Black Act. ¹

¹Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa, p. 175.

Finding himself betrayed, Gandhi resumed the struggle. On 16 August 1908, the Satyagraha Committee met in Johannesburg and resolved to burn the certificates of registration. Following the pass burning, on August 18, 1908, Sheth Daud Mahomed, President of the NIC, led his Satyagrahi army into the Transvaal. Arrests mounted; the crisis continued. The jails in the Transvaal were overcrowded with Asian prisoners by the spring of 1909.

In June 1909, the Satyagraha Committee resolved to send a second deputation to England to again register their grievances with Lord Crewe, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies and Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India. Lord Ampthill, President of the Satyagraha Committee in England, served as the official liason between the Government officials and the deputation. Gandhi felt that Lord Ampthill was extremely helpful, although his communications from the Government was discouraging:

He brought a message from (General Botha). Said he: General Botha appreciates your feelings in the matter, and is willing to grant your minor demands. But he is not ready to repeal the Asiatic Act or to amend the Immigrants Registration Act. He also refused to remove the colour bar which has been set up in the law of the land. To maintain the racial bar is a matter of principle with the General and even if he felt like doing away with it the South African Europeans would never listen to him. General Smuts is of the same mind as General Botha and this is their final decision and final offer. ¹

Having failed in their quest for equality under law, the deputation returned disheartened to South Africa.

On 5 March 1909, the APO held a mass meeting in Cape Town to protest the decision of the Colonies National Convention to institutionalise a political colour bar. Africans convened a South African

¹Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa, p. 209.

Native Convention in Bloemfontein on 24 March 1909 to register their disapproval of the National Convention's proposal to disfranchise non-whites. In the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, non-whites had long been denied civil and political rights; only a handful of non-Europeans could vote in the Natal, and the franchise in the Cape was qualified. Thus, all of the people of colour had a vested interest in petitioning the National Convention for the extension of human rights to all who would be governed by the new South African constitution. Leonard Thompson underscored the problem:

The draft constitution provided for the maintenance of the existing franchise laws in each province of the Union until they were altered by the Union parliament, and for the protection of the non-white peoples of the Cape Province from disfranchisement on racial grounds by the requirement that any such Bill should be passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together and at the third reading be agreed to by not less than two-thirds of of the total membership of both houses. ¹

The South African Native Convention passed a resolution indicating that the Imperial Government was obligated to protect the citizenship rights not only of Europeans, but of Africans and Coloureds as well. After the local governments refused to democratize the South African Constitution, the Native Convention and the APO authorised the President of the APO, Dr. Abdurahman, Rev. Walter B. Rubusana of East London, the first and last African to win an election to the Cape Provincial Council and a Vice President of the Cape Native Congress after the formation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912, and J. T. Jabavu, editor of Imvo, to travel to London to present a memorial to protest for citizenship rights under the new Constitution. With the assistance of the "liberal" W. P. Schreiner, who accompanied the delegation to

¹ Leonard Thompson, "The Compromise of Union" in Oxford History, vol. 2, ed. Wilson and Thompson, pp. 355-356.

England, an interview was arranged between the three non-European leaders and the Secretary of State, Lord Crewe. Sir Charles W. Dilke presented their cause to the House of Commons. However, the British government refused to intervene in the domestic affairs of the four colonies. Prime Minister Asquith and Mr. Balfour, the leader of the opposition, praised the statesmen of South Africa and warned the House of Commons "not to wreck this great work . . . of freedom and reconciliation."¹ The constitution bill passed both Houses of the British Parliament without division.

Thus this deputation, like Gandhi's, returned to South Africa without any possibility of receiving civil rights, political rights, and constitutional safeguards. The British government washed its hands of the affair.

Legal social inequality was institutionalised on 31 May 1910. Millions of individuals were deprived of political rights, social justice, citizenship, and equality under law. The human rights of Africans, Asians, and Coloureds were "sacrificed." The undemocratic politics of ethnocentrism had prevailed.

In April 1910, Jabavu and Abdurahman made an appeal at a banquet in Queenstown for a political alliance of South Africa's people of colour. This call for political union went unheeded in 1910, according to the Simonses, for several reasons:

The African and Coloured leaders joined in protest, but the political ties between their peoples were never more than tenuous. Geographical isolation, barriers of language, custom and race, economic differences and inequalities of status, restrained them from merging into a single organization.²

¹Knaplund, The British Empire 1815-1939, p. 672.

²Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, p. 120.

However, the formal unification of the Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal into the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910, stimulated political cooperation between the peoples of colour and their European allies. Having been denied a voice in forming government policies, Africans, Asians, and Coloureds were presented with a fait accompli by the South African Act. The Botha regime, having excluded over seventy-five per cent of the population from the democratic process, lacked public support and legitimacy from the outset. Its distortion of representative government, democratic principles and human freedoms contributed to the expansion of the Congress Movement.

The crassly undemocratic South African Act had three profound effects; first, it handed dictatorial power to the white minority regime secondly, it established Europeans as the proprietary race and class of the country and thirdly, it provoked the rise of the third wing of the Congress Movement, the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) on 8 January 1912.¹ Chief Albert John Lutuli underscored the point:

It was the perpetration of the Act of Union itself which hardened African opposition and brought organised resistance into being. . . . (The SANNC) came into existence as the direct outcome of our exclusion from our own country, and of the white entente to ensure this exclusion. 2

A co-founder of the SANNC, Dr. Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, was a principal proponent of Pan-Africanism. Rev. S. Pixley of the American Board Mission had sponsored Seme's American education at Columbia University, New York. After attending Oxford University, Seme had been admitted to the bar at Middle Temple, London. Three other African lawyers collaborated with

¹Peter Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress 1912-1952 (Los Angeles, Calif., 1971), p.33.

²Albert J. Lutuli, Let My People Go (London, 1975), pp. 80-81.

Seme in his Pan-African enterprise. Alfred Mangena and George Montsioa had been called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, and Richard Msimang had been articled at Taunton. These four men were the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism in South Africa. Through their hard work, the various tribes converged to form a Pan-African federation.

In January 1912, leaders of the Shangana, Ndebele, Sotho, Swazi, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu came to Bloemfontein to effect a political union of Africans. The conference was opened by the Ethiopian Church leader, Rev. Henry Ngcayiya. Seme, in the keynote address, stated the reasons for Pan-African federation:

We have called you therefore to this Conference so that we can together devise ways and means of forming our national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges. ¹

The conference elected Rev. John Langalibalele Dube to the office of President General. Dube, having visited the United States in 1899, was philosophically linked to the "self help" school of thought. His views were realistic and pragmatic. Dube understood that an unarmed people could not afford the luxury of violent social change.

The SANNC was modelled on the British Parliament and the American Congress. Structured into the political organisation was an Upper House of Chiefs and a Lower House of Commoners. The constitutional aims and objectives of the SANNC were:

. . . . to educate the (African) people of their rights, duties, and obligations to the state, to encourage mutual understanding, and to bring together into common action as one political people all the tribes and clans of the various tribes or races. By means of combined effort and united political organisation. . . . to defend African's freedom, rights and privileges, to agitate by just means for the removal of the "colour bar" in political, educational, and industrial fields, and to work for equitable representation of natives in Parliament. ²

¹Drum, July 1953, quoted by R. V. Selope Thema.

²Raymond L. Buell, The Native Problem in Africa (New York, 1928), p. 12.

This conference was influenced by previous contact between African and African-American political activists.

. . . Rev. W. Rubusana (Vice President of the SANNC). . . met DuBois when they participated in the Universal Races Conference of 1911, and although Dube was first president of the South African Native National Congress and an admirer of Washington, the very formation of Congress as a permanent organization to defend African interest was more in keeping with DuBois' methods. This awareness of the Negro struggle had first been introduced into South Africa via a search for higher learning and the impact of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. ¹

Later in the same year, Dube, as Gandhi before him, established a national African newspaper, the Abantu-Batho, to propagandise and politicise the African people. It was hoped that an African Nationalist publication would raise the political consciousness of the various tribes and help to transcend petty differences. Now, three political movements with strong ideological ties to movements in Asia, Britain, and the African Diaspora were converging in South Africa. They were confronted by the fact that South Africa was also now a striking microcosm of European imperialism, colonialism, and racialism.

The SANNC, under the leadership of Seme, continued to utilise the time-tested methods of mass meetings, deputations, resolutions, and newspapers to protest government legislation, instead of adapting the Asian technique of organised nonviolent resistance. African women in the Orange Free State would be the first Africans to employ tactical civil disobedience. Under the astute leadership of Mrs. Charlotte Maxeke, a Wilberforce graduate, wife of an American Methodist Episcopal Church missionary, and founder of the feminist wing of the SANNC (alternately called the "Bantu Women's League" and "Women's Congress"), African women

¹Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 13. See also E.S. Redkey, "Bishop Turner's African Dream" Journal of American History, 54, (1967), pp. 271-290; and Mungo M. Ponton, The Life and Times of Henry M. Turner (Atlanta, 1917).

organised to protest the issuance of passes or "residential permits" which were designed to curtail their freedom of movement.¹ Before 1913, women in urban areas had not been required to carry passes. In the summer of 1913, hundreds of women marched to the city halls of several Orange Free State towns, protesting passes. Scores of women were arrested and imprisoned during the balance of the year. The War of 1914 interrupted this first African civil disobedience campaign, but the women's protest was duly noted by the Government. In 1919, in response to SANNC concern and a women's delegation led by Mrs. Maxeke, Prime Minister Botha, in an act of statesmanship, chose to set aside this particular law.²

The year of 1913 also saw the passage of, and the protest against, the Native Land Act (1913), the combined product of Theophilus Shepstone's Native Reserve policy (1840's) and the South African Native Affairs Commission Report (1905). Shepstone, a Colonial administrator, conceived his Native Reserves policy to set aside large quantities of land as reservations for Africans, "the blueprint for subsequent "Native Administration" in rural areas.³ The South African Native Affairs Commission furthered Shepstone's philosophy as it reported:

The time has arrived when the lands dedicated and set apart, as locations, reserves, or otherwise, should be defined, delimited, and reserved for natives by legislative enactment . . . with a view of finality.⁴

¹Davenport, South Africa, A Modern History, p. 179; see also Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, p. 136; and Mary Benson, South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright (New York, (1966) 1969), pp.40-41.

²Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 80.

³Pierre van den Berghe, Africa: A Study in Conflict (Berkeley, Calif., 1961), p. 31.

⁴Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, p. 80.

The fundamental principle of territorial segregation was embodied in the Native Land Act of 1913. Francis Wilson, the economist, has interpreted the Act as concern more "with the problem of labour supply than with anything else."¹ Davenport included land shortage as another problem, particularly since many farmers had been economically forced to sell their farms in the rural areas of the Transvaal and Natal following the Anglo-Boer War.² The Native Land Act, introduced by J. W. Sauer, Minister of Native Affairs, (1) set aside approximately twenty-two million acres land³ as African reservations to ensure the concentration of the African population as an available labour force; (2) abolished "farming-on-the-half", a "viable partnership" of the African farmer and the white landowner. The African farmer had provided his own farm implements, livestock, labour, and had given the landowner half of the harvest in exchange for use of the land.⁴ Some African farmers had become prosperous enough under the system to be able to afford their own farms. (3) Additionally, the Act prohibited "purchase of surveyed land farms by black syndicates"⁵ or individuals outside of the designated reservations; and (4) forbade squatters on farms in the four provinces. The Act became effective immediately in the Orange Free State, but not in the Cape, Natal or the Transvaal due to the wording of the Act and the fact that it did not

¹Francis Wilson, "Farming, 1866-1966," in Oxford History, vol. 2, ed. Wilson and Thompson, p. 127.

²Davenport, South Africa, A Modern History, pp. 334-335.

³William Henry Vatcher, Jr. White Laager: The Rise of Afrikaner Nationalism (New York, 1965), p. 151.

⁴Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, p. 81.

⁵Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, p. 334.

supersede certain Constitutional and Parliamentary enactments. The latter three Provinces would eventually enact supplemental legislation to enforce the Act.

The SANNC promptly protested the Native Land Act to both Prime Minister Botha and to Governor General Herbert Gladstone, citing the results of forced migration to cities, forced return to the reserves, the selling of livestock and farm implements, and becoming serfs instead of freeholders as detrimental to Africans. It was decided that Congress should send a deputation of officers, President General Dube, Vice President and African Provisional Councillor Rev. W. Rubusana, Corresponding Secretary Solomon T. Plaatje, Treasurer Thomas Maphikela, and Organiser for the Fund Raising Committee Saul Msane, to London to speak to the Secretary of State for the Colonies Lewis Harcourt. Harcourt again expressed Britain's confidence in the judgment of the South African government. The deputation returned to South Africa without gaining direct British support in refuting the Act.¹ Nonetheless, the Native Land Act was not enforced as stringently as originally intended by the South African government at this time.²

The Asian population was also attacked by the South African government in 1913. While the Africans in the SANNC had been confronting the government's land policy, the Indian Immigration Act was passed in the continuous struggle to control the Asian population. New immigrants, excluding wives and children of established Indians, were forbidden entry into

¹Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, pp. 137-138; see also Roux, Time Longer Than Rope, pp. 75-76, 110.

²Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, pp. 50-52.

South Africa.¹ The Indian community, under the guidance of Gandhi, included this grievance into their ongoing second passive resistance campaign. The Indians were protesting several discriminatory laws, i.e., the poll tax, restricted immigration, provincial barriers, licensing and land holding laws.² In November 1913, Gandhi called for a general strike of all Indian workers in Natal, thereby expanding the passive resistance campaign from the political arena to the economic sector. Hundreds of Indian workers from the farms, mines, railways, factories, and cities responded to the call. Many Indians, including Gandhi, were arrested and imprisoned. Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India, "wholeheartedly defended the action of the Satyagrahis and supported their civil disobedience of unjust and invidious legislation."³ In December 1913, General Smuts appointed a commission to study the grievances for the Indians' passive resistance campaign. One of the first acts of the commission was to release Gandhi and several other Indians in hopes that the Indians would voluntarily testify before the commission. In a surprise move, many Indians chose not to appear before the commission, including Gandhi. However, Gandhi did write a letter, January 1914, outlining the Asian community's demands:

- repeal of the three pound poll tax
- legalisation of the medicines celebrated according to the rite of Hinduism, Islam, etc.
- entry of educated Indians
- alteration in the assurances as regards the Orange Free State

¹Moodley, "South African Indians: The Wavering Minority," in Changes in Contemporary South Africa, ed. Thompson and Butler, p. 253.

²Ibid., p. 258; and Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950 p. 161.

³Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa, p. 286.

- an assurance that existing laws especially affecting Indians will be administered justly with due regard to vested rights. 1

In reaction to Gandhi's letter and the Passive Resistance Campaign, the South African government passed the Indians Relief Bill, 1914. Between the months of January and June 1914, Smuts and Gandhi corresponded as they hammered out the fine points of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914. Smuts, through E. M. Gorges, wrote to Gandhi stating his position on the Indians Relief Bill:

. . . .It is of course, understood, and he wishes no doubts on the subject to remain, that the placing of the Indians Relief Bill on the Statute Book of the Union, coupled with the fulfillment of the assurances he is giving in this letter in regard to the other matters referred to herein, touched upon at the recent interviews, will constitute a complete and final settlement of the controversy which has unfortunately existed for so long, and will be unreservedly accepted as such by the Indian community. 2

Gandhi replied to Smuts and summarised the grievances of the Indian community since 1906:

. . . .As the Minister is aware, some of my countrymen have wished to go further. They are dissatisfied that the trade license laws of the different Provinces, the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885 have not been altered so as to give them full rights of residence, trade and ownership of land. . .that full interprovincial migration is not permitted. . .that on the marriage question the Relief Bill (does not go) further than it does. . . .It will not be denied that someday or other these matters will require further and sympathetic consideration by the Government. Complete satisfaction cannot be expected until full civic rights have been conceded to the resident Indian population. 3

The outcome of the Passive Resistance Campaign of 1913-1914 was two-fold: an uneasy and unsatisfactory "truce" was attained by the Indian community, and the technique of mass civil disobedience had exhibited utility

¹Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa, pp. 299-300.

²E. M. Gorges, on behalf of General Smuts, Minister of the Interior, to M. K. Gandhi, 30 June 1914, Cape Town, ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA.

³M. K. Gandhi to E. M. Gorges, for General Smuts, Minister of the Interior, 30 June 1914, Cape Town, ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA.

as a weapon in the nonviolent war for civil, political and human rights. Non-white political opposition was conspicuously reduced during the years of the Great War as the disenfranchised remained loyal to the Crown.

After the war, to prevent non-whites from owning land, the South African government passed the Asiatic (Land and Trading) Amendment Act Transvaal of 1919. This Act was the culmination of three previous enactments. The Native Land Act of 1913 had effectively blocked "black syndicates" from purchasing land in the Orange Free State and had set the tone for future injunctions in Natal, the Transvaal, and the Cape. The Transvaal Law 3 of 1885 prohibited individual Asians from owning property outside of designated areas. The Gold Law sought to prevent Asians from acquiring, residing, or maintaining a stand that was related to mining and prospecting rights. Both laws had never been strictly enforced by the government and thereby had been circumvented by the Indians. They had formed "syndicates," "trusteeships," and "land-holding companies" to purchase land. According to Davenport, the "number of Indian private companies increased from three in 1913 to 103 in 1916."¹ The Asiatic (Land and Trading) Amendment Act Transvaal 1919 prohibited Indians or Indian companies from acquiring additional land or becoming the mortgage holders of European-occupied housing. However, if the Indian businessmen still occupied their sites in mining areas, they were exempted from being evicted. Because of this provision, the Asiatic (Land and Trading) Amendment Act was not protested as vociferously as other enactments of the past. This Act would eventually lead to the Transvaal Asiatics (Land and Trading) Bill of 1939, and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Bill of 1946 to legally prohibit Indians from owning land.

¹Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, pp. 182-183.

Leadership of the SANNC was transferred during World War I from Dube to Samuel Mapoch Makgatho, a political activist who proceeded to lead the organisation in more aggressive tactics against discrimination and denial of Africans' human rights. Makgatho (also referred to as Sefaka Mapogo Makgatho) had studied theology in Middlesex to become a Methodist lay minister. Before becoming President General of the SANNC, Makgatho had founded the Transvaal African Teachers' Association and the Transvaal Native Political Union as well as had been active in the Transvaal Congress and an executive member of the SANNC. One of Makgatho's first acts as President General was to repetition¹ His Majesty, King George V of England, citing the Africans' loyalty and contributions during the "war effort" of 1914 and asking for the "removal of the colour bar in the franchise."² The King was appreciative of the Africans' loyalty, but he could not accede to their request.

Makgatho and the SANNC, in 1918 supported African sanitation workers in their demands for a six-pence-a-day raise.³ This was a conscious move for the SANNC from the political arena to the economic arena. To break the strike, the Government arrested approximately 150 workers, 5 SANNC leaders, and 3 European members of the Internationalist Socialist League (ISL).⁴ This particular arrest was significant in the annals of South African history; Europeans were arrested with Africans while both were engaged in the same political activity, i.e., a strike in support of African demands. The SANNC and ISL leaders were charged

¹"Petition to King George V from the SANNC, 20 July 1914," Cape Argus, CKC, Reel 6B, CRL.

²Benson, South Africa; Struggle for a Birthright, p. 36.

³Edwin Munger, Afrikaner and African Nationalism: South African Parallels and Parameters (London, 1967), p. 7.

⁴Roux, Time Longer Than Rope, p. 130.

with inciting a riot and promoting socialism. The charges were eventually withdrawn for lack of proof. A precedent had been set for European involvement and support of African economic rights.

World War I was drawing to a close and plans were being formulated by the world powers to convene a peace conference and the treaty signing in Paris. President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, the initial basis for the peace conference, endorsed the principle of self-determination. Encouraged by this principle, the Coloureds and Africans responded on the domestic and international levels. Dr. Abdurahman, President of the APO, convened a series of conferences in 1919 on the issue of the expansion of civil liberties in South Africa.¹ The APO presented resolutions to the Governor General and Imperial High Commissioner, Lord Buxton, who was perceived "as more sensitive to (non-white) desires than his predecessor, Lord Gladstone, had been. . . ."² The SANNC perceived the moment as propitious to send a deputation to the peace conference to present the problem of African people to a world gathering. The SANNC deputation was composed of the director of Abantu-Batho, L. T. Mvabaza; editor of Abantu-Batho, Seloape Thema; Vice President, Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje; co-founder of the Natal Native Congress, Josiah Tshangana Gumede, and President of the Ethiopian Church, Rev. Henry Reed Ngcayiya.³ Unfortunately, the African deputation was refused an audience with the official conferees. By contrast, the South African delegation from the Government had little

¹"A deputation representing the African Political Organisation has presented to His Excellency the Governor General the following resolution which had been adopted at a large number of meetings of Coloured people held in different parts of the Union," 29 January 1919, CKC, Reel 6B, CRL.

²Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, p. 290.

³Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, pp. 217-218.

trouble in voicing their opinions. General Smuts had been a member of the British War Cabinet and had suggested a League of Nations as early as 1917.¹ Prime Minister Botha had sent troops to support Britain during the War in spite of Afrikaner opposition in South Africa.² Before the Peace Conference was terminated, a second, albeit unofficial, delegation from South Africa arrived to champion their cause of a South African Republic and complete independence from Britain. This delegation included General Hertzog, Dr. D. F. Malan and other Afrikaners of the Nationalist Party. Benson records that the Afrikaner delegation traveled to America at the end of the Peace Conference to engage in further discussions with President Wilson.³ When Prime Minister Lloyd George returned briefly to London during the Peace Conference, the SANNC deputation followed to petition the King for their freedom, citizenship and human rights.⁴

P.M. Lloyd George met with them and reiterated that Great Britain could not interfere in the internal affairs of South Africa. The SANNC should confer with the South African government.⁵ Once more, the SANNC deputation returned to South Africa as disheartened as they had been in 1909. Britain had chosen not to apply the principle of self-determination to the peoples of colour in South Africa.

¹Davenport, South Africa, A Modern History, p. 188. See also J. C. Smuts, Jan Christian Smuts (New York, 1952, "Practical suggestion for Peace," pp. 196-201, and "The Conference of Paris," pp. 202-215.

²Leo Marquard, A Short History of South Africa (New York, 1968), p.230. Knaplund, The British Empire 1815-1939, p. 684.

³Benson, South Africa: Struggle for a Birthright, p. 42.

⁴Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 64.

⁵Benson, South Africa: Struggle for a Birthright, p. 42.

Solomon Plaatje did not immediately return to South Africa; instead he returned to Paris to attend the First Pan-African Congress.¹ The Congress sent a resolution to the Peace Conference which called, in part, for self-determination and supported the League of Nations.

(a) That the Allied and Associated Powers establish a code of laws for the international protection of the natives of Africa, similar to the proposed international code for labour.

(b) That the League of Nations establish a permanent Bureau charged with the special duty of over-seeing the application of these laws to the political, social, and economic welfare of the natives

.

5. The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the Government as far as their development permits in conformity with the principle that the Government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the Government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government according to ancient usage, and that this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceeds to the higher offices of State, to the extent that, in time, Africa be ruled by consent of the Africans. . . . Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilised citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the civilised World. 2

Although the Peace Conference did not heed the African deputation and the British Prime Minister ignored their grievances, the First Pan-African Congress of 1919 did place the cause of African self-determination, representative government, and human rights before an international conference of nations and the people of the world via the international news media. Another precedent had been established as people of colour voiced their complaints before a world body asking for justice, freedom, and equality.

¹Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism, pp. 95-103; and DuBois, The World and Africa, pp. 7-13.

²George Padmore, ed., Colonial and Coloured Unity, A Programme of Action: A History of the Pan-African Congress, (London, (1947) 1963), p. 17.

The SANNC again brought forth the issue of freedom of movement and the pass system. They decided to sponsor a civil disobedience campaign in the Transvaal. Thousands of Africans assembled in March of 1919 to surrender their passes as a protest. Sacks filled with passes were left at the pass office in Johannesburg. The campaign spread to other townships where the procedure was repeated. The local governments retaliated with mass arrests and severe sentencings. The campaign lasted two months and was terminated with the convening of a commission enjoined to investigate the Africans' grievances against the pass system. Simplification of the pass system was the answer, according to the commission.¹ The Government chose to ignore the recommendation.

Following the anti-pass campaign, an African and Coloured labour union was developed in answer to the economic conditions of South Africa. After the War, there had been dislocation of trade and industry, political and social unrest, African and white migration from farms to the mines² and cities, unemployment, labour unrest, stagnant wages, and rising prices.³ Africans who had served in the military campaigns of South-West Africa, German East Africa, and France⁴ returned to South Africa imbued with the ideals of freedom, democracy, and self-determination. European veterans of the War were faced with few jobs and low wages. The European trade unions began to strike for and receive wage increases and better working

¹Eighth Annual Conference of the SANNC, Queenstown, Cape Province, 6 May 1919, "Presidential Address by Mr. S. Mapogo Makgatho, CKC, Reel 6B, CRL.

²Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, p. 279.

³D. Hobart Houghton, "Economic Development, 1865-1965," and Wilson, "Farming 1866-1966," in Oxford History, vol. 2, ed. Wilson and Thompson, pp. 17 131.

⁴Kuper, "African Nationalism in South Africa, 1910-1964," in Oxford History, vol. 2, ed. Wilson and Thompson, p. 439.

conditions. The European trade unions chose not to protect and promote the interests and needs of the unskilled African worker who laboured beside the skilled European.¹ The African worker who was suffering more than the European was not receiving comparable wage increases.²

A trade union for African and Coloured workers was organised in January, 1919, by a young teacher, Clements Kadalie.³ The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) was dedicated to obtaining workers' rights, higher wages, better working conditions,⁴ abolishing colour bar restrictions,⁵ and raising the political consciousness of the worker. African and Coloured workers rapidly joined the labour movement. Joe Slovo would later praise the ICU for its direct political aims. He interpreted this trade union development as a move towards national liberation and a more socialist country.⁶

The nascent labour union supported a strike action by African and Coloured dock workers who demanded higher wages and refused to load corn designated for export at a time when food prices were rapidly escalating. The labour union had the minimal support of an European trade union, the Railways and Harbours Servants.⁷ The strike was not a total success due

¹Roux, Time Longer Than Rope, p. 125.

²Ibid., p. 153.

³Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, p. 226. For the complete history of the ICU, see Clements Kadalie, My Life and the ICU (London, 1970).

⁴Quoted from The Christian Express, September 1920; see also Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 93.

⁵Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, p. 232.

⁶Joe Slovo, "South Africa - No Middle Road," in Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution, ed. Basil Davidson, Joe Slovo, and Anthony R. Wilkinson (London, 1976), p. 164.

⁷Roux, Time Longer Than Rope, pp. 154-155.

to "scabbing" by white workers, although a "Don't Scab" leaflet was distributed by the ISL.¹ The wage increase that was gained by the African and Coloured dock workers was the indirect result of the strike action.² Despite the obvious lack of a victory, "strike fever" was high.³ The African and Coloured workers were militant. African mine workers struck on the Rand for increased wages and better working conditions.⁴ African and Coloured labour unions were organised in Port Elizabeth, East London, parts of the Cape Province, the Orange Free State, Johannesburg, and the Transvaal Province to champion the workers' demands.⁵

An attempt was made to unite these trade unions into one comprehensive body. Clements Kadalie and Selby Msimang, a labour enthusiast and a SANNC executive officer, sponsored a national conference of African trade unions in Bloemfontein, 1920. Representatives of the ICU, the Native Labour Union of Port Elizabeth, the Women's League of the SANNC, and individuals from the Orange Free State were present.⁶ Msimang was elected national president of the new trade union, but Kadalie was not elected national secretary as had been anticipated.

The idea of Africans uniting and initiating strike actions caused uneasiness among the white community, to the point that "the government

¹Michael S. Harmel, "The Communist Party in South Africa," in Apartheid, ed. Alex La Guma (London, 1971), p. 208.

²Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, p. 180.

³Roux, Time Longer Than Rope, p. 156.

⁴Ibid., p. 132; see also Benson, South Africa: Struggle for a Birthright, p. 43.

⁵Roux, Time Longer Than Rope, p. 156.

⁶Kuper, "African Nationalism in South Africa 1910-1964," in Oxford History, ed. Wilson and Thompson, p. 447.

and public opinion (was) coming to realize the seriousness of the situation and the necessity of taking steps which (would) remove the causes of conflict."¹ In October 1920, a group of African workers in Port Elizabeth assembled to discuss organising a local trade union and the necessity of a minimum wage increase. The local police arrested Samuel Makama Masabalala, a union supporter and an officer of the Cape SANNC. Africans gathered to protest this arrest. The police were joined by citizens of the tense white community who were alarmed at this implied threat of a possible strike. Shots were fired; a number of Africans and a few Europeans were killed.² Oliver and Fage assessed the over-all situation:

Violence could never be far below the surface in this situation in which black and white became economically ever more dependent upon each other and yet politically and socially more apart. Even when black resentments were expressed passively, violence could readily arise through white actions based on fear of it. 3

Violence against African workers would become a frequent occurrence in the coming years.

During 1920, as a part of on-going "native policy" to circumscribe the African's human rights, the Native Affairs Act was passed. The Act was an extension of the Glen Grey Act of 1894, the "Rhodes Charter to the natives." It was a plan for land tenure and self-government; the land would be "controlled by village boards, the village boards by district councils, the district councils by a general native council."⁴ The new Native Affairs Act, introduced by Smuts, proposed a native affairs

¹Buell, Native Problem in Africa, p. 130.

²Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 72; Benson, South Africa: Struggle for a Birthright, p. 43; and Roux, Time Longer Than Rope, pp. 165-7.

³Oliver and Fage, Short History of Africa, p. 233.

⁴Sarah Gertrude Millin, Cecil Rhodes (New York, 1933), pp. 264-272; Jan H. Hofmeyr, South Africa (London, 1931), pp. 164, 165, 313.

commission to advise the Prime Minister, local councils on the locations, and periodical conferences of chiefs, councillors, and "prominent Natives."¹ In a Rhodes Memorial Lecture delivered at Oxford University (1929), Smuts summarised the policy of "native affairs."

The main object of the Glen Grey legislation was. . .to give the native his own institutions for self-development and self-government. . . .After the new system has worked successfully and with ever-increasing efficiency for twenty-five years (in 2/3 of the Cape Province), I thought the time ripe in 1920 to extend it to the whole Union. . . .The new system is far-reaching and has come none too soon. . . .If the bonds of native tribal cohesion and authority are dissolved, the African governments will everywhere sit with vast hordes of detribalized natives on their hands, for whom the traditional restraints and disciplines of the chiefs and elders will have no force or effect. . . . The results may well be general chaos. . . .Such a breakdown should be prevented at all costs.²

Smuts rationalised the need for the Native Affairs Act. Smuts remained consistent with the position on native policy. As in 1902, now in 1920, white interests would be protected and the cost was dehumanisation of the Africans.

Rev. Zaccheus Richard Mahabane, President of the SANNC, immediately denounced the bill as a move closer to total disenfranchisement.³ An African deputation including Rev. Walter B. Rubusana, Allan Kirkland Soga, both founding members of the SANNC, and other prominent Africans and chiefs assailed the Act for it failed to include Africans in the full political process. They further asked for the removal of the "colour bar" clause from the constitution in addition to inclusion of Africans on the proposed commission.⁴ Smuts reportedly replied that "whites were not in the mood

¹Hofmeyr, South Africa, pp. 170-171.

²Smuts, Jan Christian Smuts, pp. 272-275.

³Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 100.

⁴"The Colour Bar," Presidential Address delivered by Rev. Z.R. Mahabane, President of Cape Province Native Congress, at the opening of the annual convention of the Native Congress, at Queenstown, Cape Province, 1 May 1920," CKC, Reel 6B, CRL.

for the one and time was not ripe for the other."¹ He was supported by his political rival, General Hertzog, who viewed the Native Affairs Act as a "step in the right direction."² The Africans could have their "rights" on their respective locations, but definitely not within the political structure of South Africa; there would not be full franchise for Africans in South Africa.

Pursuing a separate Asian policy in 1920, the Government appointed an Asiatic Inquiry Commission to make further recommendations for extending or implementing Asian enactments. The Commission advised the Government to encourage more Asians to voluntarily return to India, as had been the purpose for passing the Poll Tax of 1894. A second report issued in 1921, urgently recommended "voluntary" segregated Indian communities and that Indian land acquisition should be confined to the Natal coastal area.³ Freedom of mobility was once more curtailed.

Hertzog and Malan of the Nationalist Party, with an eye focused on the pending 1924 election, decided to give lip-service to the recently organised African labour union. General Hertzog sent a donation to the ICU and Dr. Malan sent a telegram to one of the union meetings. This calculated gesture to African labour by the leaders of the Nationalist Party was designed to influence the Cape's African voters.

Workers' rights continued to be the dominant issue of 1921 with the formation of the first formal Marxist-Leninist party on the African continent.⁴

¹Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, pp. 251-252.

²Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, pp. 182-183.

³Marquard, Short History of Africa, p. 232.

⁴L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan, Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, 2 vol., (London, 1970), vol.2: History and Politics of Colonialism 1914-1960, p. 14.

European intellectuals, union sympathizers, and various left-wing groups endeavoured to unify around the central theme of socialism and the class struggle during 1919 and 1920. After several abortive attempts, delegates from the International Socialist League, Social Democratic Federation, Jewish Socialist Society, Indian trade unions, and individual members of the South African Labour Party, South African Industrial Federation, the Communist Party of South Africa, and African trade unions met in Johannesburg, 2 January 1921, to forge the South African Communist Party (SACP), founded upon Marxist-Leninist philosophy and affiliated to the Comintern.¹

Influenced to an extent by the prevailing societal attitudes of South Africa, the issue of national liberation for people of colour versus total exclusiveness of whites was countered by an attempt to unite both African and non-African workers. Socialism must be carried to people of colour, particularly the Africans.

(They) had a definite part to play in the revolution. They would supply, if not the theory, then the bulk of numerical strength, courage and spirit of the revolutionary labour movement. Socialists should support the peasants' struggle against landowners, the Native Land Act, pass laws and for the franchise.²

At the Inaugural Congress of the South African Communist Party convened in Cape Town, 29-30 July 1921, D. I. Jones, S. P. Bunting, Bill Andrews, Rebecca Bunting, A. Nzula, Josie Mpama, and others affirmed their commitment to a "classless society with the industrial workers . . . providing the storm troops of the approaching revolution."³ The future would find

¹Slovo, "South Africa - No Middle Road," in Southern Africa, ed. Davidson, et al, p. 156; see also Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, pp. 95-96.

²Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, pp. 259-260.

³Slovo, "South Africa - No Middle Road," in Southern Africa, ed. Davidson, et al, p. 157.

the SACP, the fourth wing of the Congress Movement, working closely with non-white trade union movements and African, Asian, and Coloured nationalists to forge a working class movement.¹

To counter the appeal of the SACP, liberal Europeans and their African allies convened a Joint Council of Europeans and Africans. They sought to "awaken European concern for colour-blind justice."² The Joint Council advocated the "conservative" tactics of moral persuasion and exemplary conduct. These tactics contrasted sharply with the more aggressive strike actions of the African trade unions and the support for workers on strike by the SANNC. The Joint Council received the enthusiastic support of Rev. James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, who was touring South Africa as a member of the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission. Rev. Aggrey was deeply imbued with the philosophy of multiracial cooperation and, therefore, could fully support the Joint Council. The Council, he felt, could do much "to bring together white men and black (men) for a utterly frank discussion of the problems and for common action with regard to them."³ D. D. T. Jabavu gave the following assessment of Aggrey's visit; he has "done more than any other visitor I know of, in the brief space of time, to persuade people in our circumstances of the necessities of racial cooperation between white and black."⁴

¹For the development of the Communist Party in South Africa, see A. Lerumo, Fifty Fighting Years: The Communist Party of South Africa 1921-1971 (London, 1971).

²Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, pp. 93-96; see also Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, p. 283; and Benson, South Africa: Struggle for a Birthright, p. 47.

³Edwin W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa: Study in Black and White (New York, 1929), p. 164.

⁴Ibid., pp. 165-166.

The formation of the Joint Council was followed by the convening of the Second Pan-African Congress in London, 28-29 August; Brussels, 31 August-2 September; and Paris, 3-6 September 1921. The SANNC did not send an official representative to the Pan-African Congress, but it is known that Solomon Plaatje attended this Congress in the capacity of an observer.¹ The Pan-African Congress, called by DuBois, drafted a resolution that decried racialism, whether it emanated from blacks or whites:

The absolute equality of races, physical, political, and social, is the founding stone of world and human advancement. No one denies great differences of gift, capacity, and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of Science, Religion, and practical Politics is one of denying the God-appointed existence of super-races, or of races, naturally and eternally inferior. . . . The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with individual liberty: rather it fulfils it. . . . And of all the various criteria of which masses of men have in the past been prejudged and classified, that of the colour of the skin and texture of the hair is surely the most adventitious and idiotic. . . .²

This resolution for racial equality directly challenged the South African government's policy of colour-linism and racial discrimination. The Pan-African Congress also drafted a petition which was sent to the League of Nations headquarters in Geneva. The petition contained three major points which the Pan-African Congress felt was vital to African interests. It was recommended that an African or an African-American be included in the membership on the Mandates Commission, that the negative consequences of racial discrimination against people of colour be considered, and that greater emphasis be placed upon the League of Nations role as a world body for peace and justice.

We are fully aware that the League of Nations has little, if any, direct power to adjust these matters, but it has the best moral

¹Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 90.

²Padmore, History of the Pan-African Congress, p. 19.

power of public world opinion, and as a body conceived to promote Peace and Justice among men. For this reason we ask and urge that the League of Nations take a firm stand on the absolute equality of races, and that it suggest to the colonial powers connected with the League of Nations to form an International Institute for the study of the Negro problem, and for the evolution and protection of the Negro race. ¹

The League of Nations responded by publishing the petition.

Marcus Garvey, President General of the Universal African Improvement Association, a wing of the Pan-Africanist Movement, articulated his solution for peaceful change and racial reconciliation. He stated, in part:

We hear a great deal of talk about world peace today. Wilson of America, Lloyd George of England, Clemenceau of France a few years ago prophesied at Versailles a reign of peace. . . . The peace of the world cannot be settled by political conferences, or by industrial conferences only. If we are to have a world peace it will only come when a greater inter-racial conference is called. When Jew will meet Gentile; when Anglo-Saxon will meet Teuton; when the great Caucasian family will meet the Mongolian, and when all will meet the Negro, and then and there straighten out the differences that have kept us apart for hundreds of years, and will continue to keep us apart until Doom's Day, if something is not done to create better racial understanding.

If white men continue to exploit yellow men, if white men continue to exploit black and brown men, if yellow men continue to exploit brown and black men, then all we can look forward to is a reign of wars and rumours of wars. So long as Anglo-Saxons oppress Indians; so long as the French exploit the black race; so long as the Russian murders the Jew, so long will the cause for war be found, and so long will man continue to fight and kill his brother....²

The Pan-African Movement had succinctly articulated its opposition to racialism and its prospects for a lasting peace before world leaders.

On the domestic front, South Africa's mining industry had been adversely affected by the declining gold prices and rapidly rising production costs.

¹Padmore, History of the Pan-African Congress, p. 21. For a further account of the Second Pan-African Congress, see Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism, pp. 107-113; Daniel Walden, ed., W. E. B. DuBois: The Crisis Writings (Greenwich, Conn., 1972), pp. 248-250; and DuBois, World and Africa, pp. 240-241.

²"A Solution for World Peace 1922" in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, ed. A. Garvey, pp. 31-32.

To keep the mining industry solvent, the Chamber of Mines proposed, in January 1922, to cut the wages of European mineworkers in nineteen to twenty-five occupations and to designate them as non-white positions.¹ Some two thousand positions would be shifted from white to non-white. This was in direct violation of a status quo agreement, the September Agreement of 1921, between the white mineworkers and the Chamber of Mines to maintain the colour bar against non-whites and to keep a ratio of whites to non-whites in certain job classifications.² The European mineworkers responded to the Government's ploy to replace well-paid white mineworkers with underpaid African labour. The European trade unions called a general strike against the mines and public utilities in Witwatersrand. For the next two months, a state of "rebellion" ensued in the Rand between the white mineworkers versus the mineowners and the Government with the African mineworker caught in the middle of an "anti-African pogrom."³ The APO, SANNC, and the ICU deplored the white anti-African campaign and called for Government protection from irate Europeans. Mahabane, in a series of addresses, laid the blame for anti-African agitation on the "colour bar."⁴ The SACP, as a workers' party pledged to "all workers," found themselves in a dichotomous position. They argued that it was in the interest of black and white workers "to defend the white monopoly of skilled work and thus to defend the rates of white workers' pay which the bosses were attacking."

¹Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, p. 195.

²Smuts, Jan Christian Smuts, pp. 227-233; and W. K. Hancock, Smuts, vol. 2, Fields of Force (London, 1968), pp. 191-195.

³Berge, South Africa, p. 161.

⁴"The Colour Bar in South Africa, Three Presidential Addresses" by Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, President, SANNC, 1922, CKC, Reel 7A, CRL.

⁵Slovo, "South Africa - No Middle Road," in Southern Africa, ed. Davidson, et al, p. 158.

They further insisted that the strike "would build up class-consciousness among the white workers, opening the way for the disappearance of the colour-bar at a later date."¹ Magubane analyzed the SACP's involvement in the strike as a dismal mistake.² Their support for the white mine-workers translated into racism, chauvinism, and support of the colour-bar. This temporarily alienated the ICU and other non-white organisations from the SACP.

Prime Minister Smuts declared martial law against the strikers and used armed troops, tanks, artillery, and air power to bring the "rebellion" under control. Several hundred Europeans and Africans were killed and thousands were arrested. Smuts was treated as a hero by the Government for crushing the workers' rebellion³ but the rank-and-file Afrikaners felt he had betrayed them.⁴ They severely criticised his decision in the initial stages of the strike and his draconian actions in halting the "rebellion."⁵ Prime Minister Smuts had sanctioned an excessive use of deadly force in his attempts to contain the strikers. The miners' strike did not adversely affect the South African mining industry and its production, but it would hold future political and economical ramifications for the non-whites as well as for Smuts.

¹Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 195.

²Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, pp. 282-283.

³Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, p. 297.

⁴David Niddie, South Africa: Nation or Nations (London, 1968), p. 136.

⁵Knaplund, British Empire 1815-1939, p. 689. For further readings of the Rand Revolt, see S. P. Bunting, Red Revolt (Johannesburg, 1922); N. Weyl, "Red Rebellion," in Traitors' End (New York, 1970), pp. 72-84; Simons, "Rand Revolt," in Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, pp. 271-299; and Roux, "Rand Revolt and White South Africa" in Time Longer Than Rope, pp. 143-152.

Smuts soon had another occasion to use force in settling a dispute. South West Africa, a Class C mandate, had been handed to South Africa as a result of the Treaty of Versailles. The Government arbitrarily levied an annual dog tax against the Bondelswarts who depended upon their many dogs for both hunting and herding livestock. The tax, in relationship to their annual income, was exorbitant. They earned approximately £ 1 per month, but they were required to pay 7 shillings for one dog to £10 for five dogs.¹ The Bondelswarts refused to pay the tax. The Government retaliated by bombing and machine gunning the Bondelswarts, killing upward to a hundred people. Prime Minister Smuts, in his zeal to enforce the dog tax, once more approved the use of excessive military force against unarmed civilian opposition.

The massacre was reported to the League of Nations by Mr. Dante Bellegarde, a participant at the Second Pan-African Congress, a representative of Haiti to the League of Nations, and a future representative of Haiti to the United Nations. He "revealed to the world the disgrace of the bombing of the African Bondelschwartz, and in retaliation, was recalled by the American forces then in power in Haiti."² A concrete example of South Africa's mal-treatment of people of colour had been brought before the League of Nations. The matter was debated by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations for more than a year.³

The Natal Province experienced violent conflict between Indians and Europeans in 1922. A riot erupted when Indians attempted to acquire

¹Roux, Time Longer Than Rope, pp. 141-142; Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, p. 303.

²Padmore, History of Pan-African Congress, p. 21.

³Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 73.

land in the Durban area. The Durban Municipality responded by passing a provincial ordinance restricting sales and leases of public land to Indians.¹

During this period, the Transvaal government authorised the Stallard Commission (1922), chaired by Colonel Charles F. Stallard, to study the trend of African urbanisation and mobilisation, and to submit a report of its findings, which read in part:

If the Native is to be regarded as a permanent element in municipal areas, and if he is to have an equal opportunity of establishing himself there permanently, there can be no justification for basing his exclusion from the franchise on the simple ground of colour.

Some Coloured persons and Natives are possessed of property and brains, and have educational qualifications not inferior to some enfranchised Europeans; carry on trades and are their own employers, and it cannot be denied that they have special and peculiar needs not at present being met.

If, as we consider, it is to the public vantage that all sections of the permanent community should be represented in government, on what ground is the franchise withheld from the Natives?

We consider the history of the races, especially having regard to South African history, shows that the commingling of Black and White is undesirable. The Native should only be allowed to enter urban areas, which are essentially the White man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the White man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister.²

The Government acted upon the Commission's advice and enacted the Native Urban Areas Act (1923) which superseded previous provincial bills controlling the influx of Africans.³ The Act stipulated:

- The Governor General would designate native locations and villages.
- The Act would apply to African men.

¹Welsh, "Growth of Towns," in Oxford History, vol. 2, ed. Wilson and Thompson, p. 237.

²Howard Brotz, Politics of South Africa: Democracy and Racial Diversity (London, 1977), pp. 25-26.

³Berghe, South Africa, p. 171.

- A service contract had to be registered by the employer.
- The service contract must be shown, upon request, to officials.
- Registration was required by African men entering a location.
- Unemployed African men must find employment or leave the location.
- Holders of letters of exemption were excluded, i.e., chiefs, headmen, registered Cape voters, court interpreters, teachers, and landowners. ¹

The Act was designed to closely monitor the mobility of Africans in and around white areas. The SANNC, at a meeting in Bloemfontein, criticised this Act as "perpetual serf-dom" and a deliberate attempt to make Africans "perpetual migrants without permanent roots in the towns."² They sent a deputation to Prime Minister Smuts. The Smuts government was continuing the "native policy" that would insulate and protect the white minority from the black majority. J. H. Hofmeyr viewed the Native Urban Areas Act as "sound and progressive" legislation to address the "vital problem of the land"³ and the black majority.

In a move consistent with its policy of multiracial cooperation, the ANC participated in the European-Bantu Conference, 1923, convened by the Dutch Reformed Church.⁴ The aim of the Conference was to encourage additional interracial communication between Africans and Afrikaners. ANC members as Rev. Mahabane, President, Doyle Modiakhotla, Dr. J. S. Moroka, Rev. James Calata, R. H. Godlo, and Professor Z. K. Matthews were invited

¹Gwendolen M. Carter, Politics of Inequality: South Africa Since 1948 (London, 1958), p. 84; Welsh, "Growth of Towns," in Oxford History, vol. 2, ed. Wilson and Thompson, p. 198.

²Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, pp. 83-84; Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, p. 320.

³Hofmeyr, South Africa, p. 171.

⁴Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 243.

to be a part of the membership.¹ Rev. Mahabane spoke to the inaugural conference concerning the acceptability of the Native Land Act. The Act was acceptable if it

. . . .(provided) for the allocation of at least fifty percent of the land within South Africa for native occupation. . . . such Native areas should be spread all over the Union. . . . But it must be understood that even though a system of local councils were established in the Native areas or territories, yet the claim for direct representation in the legislative bodies of the land - the Union Parliament and the Provincial Councils - would certainly remain. . . . The Bantu . . . claim the right of having a voice and vote in the Parliamentary management of the general affairs of the land, and the right of direct participation in the making of laws for the good, orderly and peaceful government of the country. . . . Political segregation is therefore out of the question. 2

The leader of the ANC appealed to the European ruling class for colour-blind justice and the liberal democratic ideal of equality before the law.

The leadership of the ANC (African National Congress, formerly the SANNC) was indignant with Smuts' "native policy." They, therefore, urged their enfranchised membership "to vote solidly for a change of government."³ The ICU, under the leadership of Kadalie, expressed its tacit, but "neutral" support of the Hertzog-Cresswell coalition by refraining to speak for the Smuts government. This "neutral stand alienated both the APO and the Cape Native Voters Association, both of whom were inclined to the SAP."⁴

Also in 1923, the various Indian organisations, i.e., the Cape British Indian Council, the Transvaal British Indian Association, and the Natal Indian Congress consolidated as one organisation, the South African Indian Congress (SAIC).⁵ The Indian political leaders felt the need to

¹Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 188.

²"Segregation," European-Bantu Conference, Papers and Addresses of Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, in Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 106.

³Davenport, South Africa, : Modern History, p. 197.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Welsh, "Growth of Towns," in Oxford History, vol. 2, Wilson and Thompson, p. 228.

present a united front. It would be essential in the future, as never before. At the Imperial Conference of 1923, the Dominion nations were enjoined by Great Britain to improve their Asian policies. Prime Minister Smuts negated **that enjoiner**. He claimed the South Africa had a "peculiar racial balance." Granting rights to Asians and not to Africans would present domestic problems; therefore, South Africa was not prepared to make "concessions."¹ Sir Tel Bahadur Saprú, the representative of India to the Imperial Conference stated that South Africa's handling of the Indian problem would "pass . . . beyond the bounds of a domestic issue and will become a question of foreign policy of such gravity that upon it the unity of the Empire may founder irretrievably."²

The South African Indian community faced new anti-Asian legislation at the beginning of 1924. Sir Patrick Duncan introduced the Class Areas Bill to accomplish the goals of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission (1920) in forming segregated Indian communities. Before the Bill could be enacted by the South African Parliament, the Smuts government was voted out of office.³ The Class Areas Bill would, however, resurface under the Nationalist government in 1927 with different dimensions.

Before the 1924 election, the Smuts government enacted discriminatory labour legislation in an unsuccessful attempt to win the votes of white workers. The intensity of the "Rand Rebellion, 1922" had convinced the Government that it was far better "to consolidate the white workers' privileges" and "cheaper to conciliate than to fight the unions."⁴

¹Davenport, South Africa: Modern History, p. 192.

²Ibid.

³Hofmeyr, South Africa, p. 184; and G. Calpin, Indians in South Africa (Pietermaritzburg, 1949), pp. 128-130.

⁴Gann and Duignan, History and Politics of Colonialism 1914-1960, vol. 2, p. 119.

The Industrial Conciliation Act was generally considered "machinery for settling internal disputes."¹ Some of its more specific guidelines were:

- Trade union registration required within three months of formation.
- Registration conferred corporate status.
- Corporate status allowed a trade union to sue or be sued.
- Trade union was protected from damage claims incurred during legal actions.
- Permanent industrial councils of trade unions and employers were encouraged.
- Trade union participated in strike conciliation procedures.
- "Pass-bearing persons" were not recognised as "employees." ²

The Act did not specifically mention "the colour-bar" or the exclusion of any group of people; however, the term "pass-bearing" applied to the African mineworkers who were forced to carry passes and therefore, were excluded from the protection of the Industrial Conciliation Act.³ There appeared to have been little organised protest by the Africans against this particular clause of the Act. The ICU did attempt to register under the Industrial Conciliation Act. Their application was rejected on the grounds that "pass-bearing" members were not employees, and that being employed in "almost every conceivable occupation, they did not constitute a statutory trade union."⁴ On the other hand, the Coloureds and Indians had been given some "formal equality with whites in the system of collective bargaining."⁵ The Asian and Coloured workers had received a measure of economic recognition as the South African government sought to protect

¹Marquard, Short History, p. 234.

²Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, pp. 332-334.

³Houghton, "Economic Development 1865-1965," in Oxford History, vol. 2, ed. Wilson and Thompson, p. 31.

⁴F. McGregor, "Conciliation in South African Industries," Social and Industrial Review, 1919, vol. vii, no. 37, pp. 56-57.

⁵Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, p. 330.

white economic interests and to provide a non-white buffer against the growing unemployed, displaced African urban population.

The SACP appealed to the working class on the ideal of worker solidarity. During the 1924 election, the SACP supported the "anti-imperialist front," the Labour and Nationalist Parties' coalition and rejected any African organisation "not engaged in a revolutionary struggle against capitalism."¹ Following its support of the Labour Party, the SACP turned its attention to "raising the socialist consciousness of the African workers, the true propertyless proletariat of the country."² Some ANC members as E. J. Khaile, Albert Nzula, Johannes Nkosi, Gana Makabeni, Moses Kotane, E. T. Mofutsanyana, J. B. Marks, Josie Mpama, and others responded to the appeal by joining the SACP as well as maintaining membership in the ICU. They "combined Leninism and African resistance"³ to solidify ties between the ANC, ICU, and SACP.

At the SACP's third annual conference, December 1924, the party formally adopted a policy of working with Africans, accepting the ICU, and working within that trade union.⁴ The SACP had formally coaligned with the ICU:

The Hertzog government began to implement its interpretation of the South African "native policy." Prime Minister Hertzog defined segregation as:

Natives would have their own defined areas in which the mass of them would make their homes. Many of them would go out

¹Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, p. 283.

²Harmel, "Communist Party in South Africa," in Apartheid, ed. La Guma, p. 210.

³Frances Meli, "A Nation is Born," in African Communist, no. 48, 1972, p. 25.

⁴Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, p. 284.

to work for the Whites, but in areas they would be able to develop to the full extent of their capacity. . . .(A) form of trusteeship would 'prevent the emergence of a mixed race by miscegenation' and would at the same time save the Natives from 'becoming the prey of what is worst in modern European civilization'.¹

The South African Parliament enacted the Wage Act No. 27, 1925 (Industrial Conciliation Act Amendment Act, 1925) "to safeguard civilised standards of living of all classes of workers irrespective of race or colour. . . the full productive energy of the community is not to be hampered, so that the full scope can be given to that productive energy subject to the securing of the first aim."² The Act provided for the unorganised labourer's working conditions and income, and the appointment of a wage board to investigate and regulate the wages and labour conditions. To the Africans, this was another legislative enactment designed to limit their economic opportunity and to deny them steady employment and equal wages.

The Native Taxation and Development Act, No. 41, 1925, was passed in January, 1926, to provide revenue for "African development."³ African males, eighteen years or older, had to pay an annual poll tax of L 1, and an annual local or hut tax of 10 shillings. No one was to pay more than L 2. Indigent Africans incapable of work could be exempted from partial or full payment.⁴ The Taxation Act also established guidelines

¹L. E. Neame, History of Apartheid: Story of the Coloured War in South Africa (New York, 1963), pp. 39-40.

²Sheila T. van der Horst, Native Labour in South Africa (Cape Town, 1942) p. 251; see also van der Horst, African Workers in Town: Study of Labour in Cape Town (Cape Town, 1965).

³Lord Hailey, African Survey: Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara (London, 1938), p. 131.

⁴Neame, History of Apartheid, p. 51.

for a Native Development Account which provided for "local needs" and the "maintenance, extension, and improvement of educational facilities."¹ The levied tax forced Africans into wage labour. As they left their rural society to join the money economy and thereby provide cheap labour, the family unity was fragmented and individual migration was intensified.

The Pact government also enacted legislation against the Indian population. Minister of Interior, Dr. D. F. Malan, introduced the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration Bill, 1925, to intensify the policy of repatriation and to implement residential segregation because "the Indians were an alien element in the population and that no solution of the problem would be acceptable unless it resulted in a decrease of their numbers."² South Africa had chosen to ignore Britain's enjoiner to "improve" its Asian policies.³ The reaction from the Indian community, India, and Great Britain was such that deputations were exchanged between India and South Africa. G. F. Paddison, Commissioner of Labour in Madras and two Indian members of Council traveled from India to South Africa. Dr. Abdul Abdurahman, President of the APO and representative of the SAIC, headed the deputation to India.⁴ He immediately made contact with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the leader of the Indian National Congress. The deputations resulted in round-table discussions between the two governments in 1926 and a concluding agreement.

In 1926, the Pact government passed another legislative enactment to assist the white labour movement. The Mines and Works Act, 1911,

¹Hailey, African Survey, p. 1213.

²Neame, History of Apartheid, p. 52.

³Davenport, Short History of South Africa, p. 192.

⁴Ibid., pp. 204-205.

Amendment Act. No. 25, 1926, reestablished the "colour-bar" of 1903 which the South African Supreme Court had judged invalid. The Act called for certificates of competency, limited to Europeans and Coloureds, to provide for European mineworkers "a leasehold in perpetuity. . . on the job categories designated as White."¹ The Act was an aspect of the "comprehensive solution" to the native problem. The Mines and Works Act, also known as the Colour Bar Act, was denounced by the ANC and the Johannesburg branch of the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans "as morally unjust, economically unsound and without precedent in any civilised country."² Nonetheless, the South African government decreed that a man's ability to do a job would depend upon his colour, not upon his competency. The African workers were again denied upward mobility in the labour force.

When Prime Minister Hertzog unveiled his legislative programme to implement his "native policy," it consisted of four bills, the Coloured Persons Rights Bill; Native Land, 1913, Amendment Act; Representation of Natives in Parliament; and the Native Council Bill. The Coloured Persons Rights Bill, 1926, proposed to disenfranchise the Cape Africans while allowing the Coloureds to retain the franchise with the possibility of extending their franchise throughout the Union.³ This Bill served to distinguish the Coloureds from the Africans. Hertzog justified his proposed legislation with a "Coloured policy."

. . . (It is) desired to keep the Coloured people on the other side of the whites. The Coloured man could not be grouped

¹Ralph Horwitz, Political Economy of South Africa (New York, 1967), p. 189.

²Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, pp. 189-190.

³Ibid., p. 111.

with the Natives. He had his origin and existence in our midst. He knows no other civilization than that of the White man. However often he falls short of it, his outlook is essentially that of the Whites and not of the Natives, and his mother-tongue is that of the White man. In his case there can be no talk of segregation. ¹

Both Africans and Coloureds rejected the thought of Africans being denied the franchise in exchange for an extension of the Coloured franchise. Members of the African community felt that African disenfranchisement was the initial step to total non-white disenfranchisement. The ANC recorded their protest at the 1926 national convention convened in Bloemfontein. They "rejected segregation in any form, agreed to boycott native conferences called by the government, to demand equal rights to all, and to campaign for the removal of the colour-bar from the constitution."²

The Native Land, 1913, Amendment Act, 1926, was drafted to be the "final solution" to the problem of land and the African. The Native Land Act of 1913 had established areas where Africans could purchase land. The new Land Act designated new areas as African or non-African, provided an exchange program of "Crown land within scheduled and released areas" for "land outside the scheduled or released areas," and established a Native Land Purchase and Advance Fund.³ The Act would make territorial segregation legal and thereby prevent European islands in African areas and vice versa.

The third native bill of Hertzog's programme was the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill, 1926, which advocated an alternative form

¹Neame, History of Apartheid, p. 54; see also C. M. Van den Heever, General J. M. B. Hertzog (Johannesburg, 1946).

²Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, p. 342; and Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, p. 287.

³C. M. Tatz, Shadow and Substance in South Africa (Pietermaritzburg, 1946), pp. 48-49.

of franchise - indirect representation. Qualified Africans, nominated by the South African government would elect seven European members of parliament to serve the four provinces.¹

The final Hertzog native bill was the Union Native Council Bill. This bill established a native council of fifty persons, one-third selected by the South African government, and the remaining two-thirds "elected" in the manner described in the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill.² These bills, "the final comprehensive solution," were attacked by both the ANC and the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans as morally unjust.

Unrelated to the Hertzog native bill, but still an aspect of the "native policy", was the enactment of the Masters and Servants Law (Transvaal and Natal) Amendment Act, No. 26, 1926. The Amendment denied African workers the right to strike and made any breach of contract on the part of the worker a criminal offense.

In December 1926, the ICU, in an effort to be recognised by the South African government as a legitimate trade union³ passed a resolution which excluded SACP member from holding executive office within the ICU.⁴ Faced with the choice of resignation from the SACP or expulsion from the ICU, many SACP members chose to resign from the ICU. The SACP members began to organise industrial trade unions for worker solidarity. They established night schools to raise the educational and "socialist

¹Tatz, Shadow and Substance, pp. 48-49; and Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 111.

²Ibid.

³Harmel. "Communist Party of South Africa," in Apartheid, ed. La Guma, p. 210.

⁴Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, pp. 283-284.

consciousness" levels of African workers.¹ They also issued a statement opposing the "Hertzog's segregation bills, the abolition of pass laws, and other racial legislation (and supported) an extension of the Cape franchise to other provinces, and the right of Africans to elect representatives to native councils."²

The Pact government passed two additional legislative acts that directly affected people of colour. The Immorality Act, No. 5, 1927, affected Europeans as well. The Act made miscegenation a crime.³ The Native Administration Act, No. 38, 1927, made it a crime to "disseminate certain doctrines among natives, to say or write anything intended to promote hostility between the races."⁴ The Act also placed Africans under the discretionary authority of the Native Affairs Department which had the power to call out troops, impose fines, and banish offending persons.⁵ This Act was protested by the Africans for it had the power to adversely shape their lives.

In a move to further multiracial cooperation, members of the SACP, ANC, APO, SAIC, ICU, and other African welfare and religious groups attended the Non-European Conference at Kimberley, June 1927. Seventeen years earlier, Dr. Abdurahman and Professor D. D. T. Jabavu had issued an appeal for a political alliance of South Africa's people of colour. The aim of the Conference, convened by Abdurahman and chaired by Jabavu,

¹Harmel, "Communist Party of South Africa," in Apartheid, ed. La Guma, p. 211.

²Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, p. 388.

³William H. Vatcher, White Laager: Rise of Afrikaner Nationalism (London, 1965), p. 151.

⁴Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, p. 284.

⁵Alex Hepple, South Africa: A Political and Economic History (London, 1966), p. 185.

was the attainment of "equality of opportunity in economic and political life." The conference passed two resolutions, one calling for improved multiracial cooperation, and the second supported the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans. The Conference also condemned the pass laws, economic colour bar, and the native administrative bill.¹

The South African Indian community and its intermediary, the government of India, came to an agreement with the South African government concerning the treatment of Indians. Earlier in April, 1926, the two governments issued a joint communique "reaffirming their recognition of the right of South Africa to use all just and legitimate means for the maintenance of Western standards of life."² Indian and South African representatives assembled in Cape Town for "round-table" discussions during December 1926. It was agreed to drop the Areas Reservation Bill and to appoint an Indian Agent-General to South Africa. The Right Honourable S. Sastri was chosen for the position. The two governments pledged to cooperate in a "Scheme of Assisted Emigration." South Africa agreed to conduct an inquiry into the educational and housing conditions of the Indian community.³ The Cape Town Agreement also pledged South Africa to "uplift" the Indian community:

¹"Minutes of the First Non-European Conference held in the City Hall, Kimberly, 23-25 June 1927," CKC, Reel 6B, CRL.

²"Agreement Between Union and Indian Governments," ANC Papers, M856, ICSA.

³Hailey, African Survey, pp. 324-325; see also E. H. Brookes and C. DeB. Webb, A History of Natal (Pietermaritzburg, 1965), pp. 288-289; and Moodley, "South African Indians: The Wavering Minority," in Changes in Contemporary South Africa, ed. Thompson and Butler, pp. 259-260.

The Union Government firmly believes in and adheres to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities. The Union Government accepts the view that in the provision of education and other facilities, the considerable number of Indians who will remain part of the permanent population shall not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people. 1

The Cape Town Agreement encouraged the Indians to expand their educational opportunities, to form welfare, cultural and religious organisations, and to participate on various Asiatic advisory commissions.

As a step in internationalising the problem of African race relations in South Africa, Josiah T. Gumede, President General of the ANC, James La Guma of the SACP, and Daniel Colraine of the Trade Union Congress were delegates to the League Against Imperialism, convened in Brussels, February 1927. It had been organised, in part, by a German editor, Willi Munzenberg, and an Indian National Congress representative, Virandranath Chattodadhaya, brother of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the former president of the Indian National Congress. Gumede, La Guma, and Colraine met with Arabs, Burmese, Ceylonese, Chinese, Egyptians, Hindus, Indonesians, Koreans, Muslims, Sengalese, and Vietnamese representing movements in Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, South East Asia, and the West Indies. Jawaharlal Nehru, the future Prime Minister of India, and Lamine Senghor and Garan Kouyatte, Pan-Africanists from Senegal, were among the delegates.²

At this Congress, the doctrine of "Africa for Africans"³ was discussed. This doctrine had been the title of a booklet by Rev. J. Booth

¹"Cape Town Agreement, NIC," ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA; see also Calpin, Indians in South Africa, p. 64.

²Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism, p. 302.

³Slovo, "South Africa- No Middle Road," in Southern Africa, ed. Davidson, et al, p. 160.

in 1897, and the motto of Marcus Garvey in 1916. A resolution was also passed which called, in part:

. . . .(For) all workers and oppressed peoples of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed. . . to unite for the right of self-determination, the overthrow of capitalist and imperialist domination, and the removal of restrictions on freedom of organisation.. . . .¹

La Guma and Gumede journeyed to Moscow upon the completion of the Brussels Congress, to attend the Sixth Comintern, 1928. On their return to South Africa, Gumede spoke of the humane treatment received while in Moscow, and of the equal political and social rights enjoyed by all. He praised Russia as "the land of equality and freedom raised from serfdom" as contrasted to South Africa, a land still in bondage.² La Guma highlighted the Comintern's policy on South Africa and the commitment to "an independent native republic (with minority rights)."³ Both men were convinced that the future of African human rights rested in aligning with the Communist Party.

The Hertzog government continued to enact legislation that was discriminatory. The Old Age Pension Act, No. 22, 1928, provided retirement benefits for the white workers. This was unsuccessfully protested by the non-white workers.⁴ African workers did receive some benefits, however, as the result of a trade unionising effort by the SACP. SACP members as T. W. Thibedi and Bennie Weinbren were instrumental in organising indus-

¹Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950, p. 333.

²Benson, South Africa: Struggle for a Birthright, pp. 50-51; Roux, Time Longer Than Rope, p. 211.

³Slovo, "South Africa - No Middle Road," in Southern Africa, ed. Davidson, et al, p. 160.

⁴Benson, South Africa: Struggle for a Birthright, p. 53.

trial trade unions as the Native Laundry Workers, Native Bakers, clothing workers, mattress and furniture workers.¹ These small unions were consolidated into the Non-European Trade Union Federation (NETUF).

Bill Andrews chaired the inaugural meeting of the NETUF which elected **Weinbren** as Chairman and Thibedi as Acting Secretary and Chief Organiser. The NETUF would later elect James La Guma as Secretary. The NETUF brought African grievances of low wages before the Wage Board and initiated several successful strikes between May and October 1928 to obtain the wages determined by the Wage Board. By the end of 1928, the NETUF boasted of some 10,000 members.² The union pursued economic interests for the African worker, leaving the political focus to other multiracial political organisations.

In 1929, the SACP organised the League of African Rights. Membership in the League included Gumede of the ANC as President; Doyle Modiakgotla of the ICU as Vice President; **Sidney** Bunting of the SACP as Chairman; N. B. Tansi of the Transvaal ANC as Vice-Chairman; and Charles Baker of the SACP as Treasurer. Other members included T.W. Thibedi, Moses Kotane, S. M. Kotu, and other trade union activists.³ The League set a precedent by attempting to collect a million signatures on a petition advocating human rights. The major areas of concern were compulsory and free education, land reforms, political rights, and the abolishment of the pass laws. The first annual conference was convened 15-16 December 1929. Gumede

¹Harmel, "Communist Party of South Africa," in Apartheid, ed. La Guma, p. 211.

²Roux, Time Longer Than Rope, pp. 207-211.

³South African Worker, 8 August 1929.

underscored the necessity to protest new anti-African legislation that endeavoured to strip them of their humanity, to work as a unit, and to "liberate oppressed Africans."¹

Continuing his "Coloured policy", Prime Minister Hertzog proposed enfranchising the Coloured women. The South African Parliament, however, rejected this proposal and enacted the Women's Enfranchisement Act, No. 18, 1930, which enfranchised South African white women.²

In the nineteen thirties, the SACP organised a protest demonstration of unemployed African and non-African workers to demand employment.³ Members of the ANC, APO, and the SAIC protested a series of legislative enactments against the people of colour. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 1923, Amendment Act, No. 25, 1930 excluded African women from the towns. The Riotous Assemblies (Amendment) Act, No. 19, 1930 banned any individual, organisation, or publication considered hostile. The Franchise Laws Amendment Act, No. 41, 1931, retained property, income, and educational qualifications for franchised people of colour. The Native Service Contract Act, No. 24, 1932, compelled Africans to work a specified number of days or return to the location.

Pressing concerns of the SAIC over anti-Asian legislative enactments were expressed in various memorandums sent to the Ministers

¹South African Worker, 12 August 1929; see also E. R. Roux, S. P. Bunting: A Political Biography 1873-1936 (Cape Town, 1944), p. 114.

²Welsh, "Politics of White Supremacy," in Change in Contemporary South Africa, ed. Thompson and Butler, p. 54; see also "Franchise Rights and Wrongs," Address by Dr. A. Abdurahman, MPC, City Cape Town, 27 April 1931, Cape Town Area Branch of the Empire Group of Africa. CKC, Reel 9A, CRL.

³Magubane, Political Economy of Race and Class, p. 185.

of Interior, Labour and Commerce, and Finance.¹ Another memorandum by the SAIC criticised the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Commission Act, 1932.² Professor D. D. T. Jabavu of the ANC wrote a series of pamphlets denouncing Hertzog's native legislation.³

In anticipation of the passage of the Hertzog native bills, Rev. Mahabane, Dr. Xuma, and Selope Thema convened the All African Convention, 15-18 December 1935.⁴ The AAC was well attended. There were representatives from the APO, ANC, SAIC, and SACP; church, civic, sports, student, trade union, and women's groups, chiefs, and persons from the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal Provinces and the territories of Basutoland, Swaziland, British Bechuanaland, and the Transkei. Professor Jabavu was elected President; Dr. A. B. Xuma, Vice President; H. Selby Msimang, General Secretary; R. H. Godlo, Recording Secretary; Z. K. Matthews and S. D. Ngobobo, Clerk-draftsmen; and Dr. J. S. Moroka, Treasurer. The executive committee was composed of the chiefs and representatives from the four provinces. The Convention

¹Memorandums submitted by the SAIC to the Honourable Minister of the Interior, 25 March 1935, and to The Honourable Minister of Labour and Finance, 26-27 March 1935, in Connection with Various Resolutions Passed at its Fifteenth Session, Durban, 17-19 February 1935, CKC, Reel 8b, CRL.

Memorandum submitted by the SAIC to The Honourable Minister of Finance on the Subject of Old Age Pension to Indians in the Union, Cape Town, 29 March 1935, CKC, Reel 8B, CRL.

²Memorandum by the SAIC concerning the report of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act Commission and a Bill Drafted on the Subject, Cape Town, December 1935, CKC, Reel 8B, CRL.

³"Natives Views on the Native Bills," by D. D. T. Jabavu and others. Lovedale Press, 1935. Jabavu also wrote "Criticisms of the Native Bills," "Black Peril and the Colour Bar," and "Native Taxation." All were published by the Lovedale Press, 1935. CKC, Reel 10A, CRL.

⁴"The Findings of the All African Convention," by D. D. T. Jabavu, President, All African Convention, 1935," CKC, Reel 7A, CRL.

passed a resolution expressing concern over the pending "native" legislation:

. . .The convention is convinced that the only way in which the interests of the various races which constitute the South African nation can be safeguarded is by the adoption of a policy of political identity. Such a policy will ensure the ultimate creation of a South Africa in which, while the various racial groups may develop on their own lines, socially and culturally, they will be bound together by the pursuit of common political objectives. . . . This convention makes a direct appeal to the honourable members of the Senate of the Union legislature, nominated by the Government for their special knowledge of the reasonable wants and wishes of the Native population, and to the members of the House of Assembly to make strenuous efforts in opposing the passage of the clause that disfranchises the Cape Natives in the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill and otherwise to use their vote to defeat other objectionable features in the Native Bills. Furthermore, that the Governor-General, in his capacity as chief executive officer of His Majesty's Government in this country, be requested to refrain from assenting to the passage of this clause, if passed by the joint session of Parliament. This convention feels that it is imperative to appeal to His Majesty King George V and the Parliament of Great Britain. . .for an expression of their opinion in the event of such treasured gift being abrogated by His Majesty's Government in the Union of South Africa without reasons. . . .1

The Executive Council of the AAC was deputized, January 1936, to take the memorandum to Prime Minister Hertzog who refused to halt the proposed Cape Native disenfranchisement.² The native bills were passed by the South African Parliament. The Native Representative Council was established; African voters from the Cape were removed from the common roll and four white Senators were to be elected. Hertzog's "final solution" to the native problem - complete disenfranchisement of the indigenous people and their alienation from the land of their fathers - had become law.

¹"The Findings of the All African Convention," by D. D. T. Jabavu, President, AAC, 1935, CKC, Reel 7A, CRL.

²Minutes of the AAC, June 1936, CKC, Reel 7A, CRL.

The SAIC protested the Industrial Conciliation Act 1924, Amendment Act, No. 36, 1937, which subjected people of colour to further job discrimination. On two occasions, the SAIC sent memorandums to the South African Parliamentary sub-committee protesting the new discriminatory action.¹ In 1938, the SAIC, in cooperation with the APO, ANC, and representatives of the SACP, mobilised to protest a proposed "Servitude Scheme" and to form the Non-European United Front of South Africa (NEUF). The NEUF elected Mrs. Zainunnissa "Cissie" Gool, the daughter of Dr. Abdurahman, as President at the first conference, 8-9 April 1939.² G. R. Bayoli was elected Senior Vice President; Moses Kotane, Secretary; and W. H. Andrews, Treasurer. The executive council included the officers and Dr. Y. Dadoo, J. B. Marks, and H. A. Naidoo.³ The NEUF pledged themselves to multiracial cooperation, strikes, boycotts, peaceful demonstrations, and active and passive resistance to oppose discriminatory South African legislation.⁴ Jawaharlal Nehru supported the Indians' involvement with Africans in the NEUF; he stated:

I think the Indians in Africa or elsewhere can be useful members of the community. But only on this basis do we welcome their remaining there, that the interests of the people of Africa are always placed first. 5

¹SAIC. To the Chairman and Members of the Select Committee on the Industrial Conciliation and Wage Bills, Parliament House, Cape Town, Durban, 3 February 1937. CKC, Reel 8B, CRL.

SAIC. Supplementary Statement to the Chairman and Members of the Select Committee on the Industrial Conciliation and Wage Bills, Parliament House, Cape Town, Durban, 11 February 1937. CKC, Reel 8B, CRL.

²Non-European United Front of South Africa, Minutes of Conference held in the City Hall, Cape Town, 8-9 April 1939, CKC, Reel 6B, CRL.

³⁻⁴Ibid.

⁵"Nehru on Africa," Current Affairs Publication (New Delhi, 1954).

Nehru's statement and organisations as the Non-European United Front, the All African Conference, European-Bantu Conference, Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, League of African Rights, and Non-European Trade Union Federation had supported and extended Abdurahman's and Jabavu's concept of a political alliance of people of colour to that of a multi-racial alliance united in common cause against government oppression.

For South Africa, the outbreak of World War II proved, among other things, to be a catalysis which began a prolonged period of extraordinary economic growth and industrial expansion. Productivity was intensified and from 1939 to 1944, fixed capital per employee "grew at an annual rate of 5.01 per cent."¹ In the manufacturing sector, "output increased by 116 per cent between 1939 and 1945."² This unprecedented rise in commercial activity attracted vast sums of investment capital into the State. The currency in South African banks increased significantly, the external debt was radically reduced and large sterling and dollar balances were accumulated.

African, Asian, Coloured, and European workers were drawn from the rural areas to the industrial centers seeking admittance into the thriving free market economy. Sadly, South Africa's industrial revolution was not accompanied by democratic reforms. The notorious colour bar remained a persistent barrier to the economic interests of non-whites. The mass influx of hundreds of thousands of unskilled, underpaid, and unorganised African, Asian, and Coloured labourers into the cities threatened to undermine the principle of strict racial segregation.

¹Horwitz, Political Economy of South Africa, p. 320.

²Houghton, "Economic Development," in Oxford History, vol. 2, ed. Wilson and Thompson, p. 36.

In 1939, 126,000 Africans moved into private manufacturing; by 1949, the number would increase to 292,000.¹ Leo Kuper has recorded that "in 1946, there were almost two and a half million Africans economically active in the modern sector of the economy."² The need for cheap non-white labour in the textile, manufacturing and mining sectors would continue after the war. In August 1946, the Smuts government empowered Judge Fagan to establish a commission "to study not only the pass laws but also generally, the problems of Africans in urban areas and migratory labour."³ The Commission concluded in 1948 that, "in its view, the process of (economic) integration could not be reversed."⁴ Clearly, the war promoted this process. Another relative conclusion presented by the Fagan Commission was that the urbanisation process was increasing the numbers of detribalised Africans residing in areas reserved for whites only.

Albie Sachs has given an excellent account of how the Government responded to economic integration and the urbanisation of detribalised Africans in the post-war years. He stated that

. . . as the inter-dependence of black and white South Africans in a common economy increased and as cultural differences between them diminished, so was the law used in ever greater measure to create statutory differentiation and to maintain black subordination.⁵

¹Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter, From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964, 4 vols. (Stanford, Calif., 1977), vol. 2: Hope and Challenge 1935-1952, by Thomas Karis, p. 81.

²Kuper, "African Nationalism in South Africa," in Oxford History, ed. Wilson and Thompson, p. 451.

³Karis, Hope and Challenge 1935-1952, vol. 2, p. 75.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Albie Sachs, Justice in South Africa (Berkeley, Calif., 1973), p. 200.

During the week of 4 August 1946, the same week of the South African Mineworks major industrial action, the N.R.C. held its biyearly session in Pretoria. Dr. A. B. Xuma, the President General of the ANC, in late July, asked the NRC "to adjourn their session unless the Government agreed to abolish the pass laws" and "recognise African trade unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act."¹ The African Mineworkers Union was unofficially constituted in August 1941. The successful development of this organisation owed much to the skills and efforts of three men, S. P. Matseke, Gaur Radebe, and J. B. Marks; all three were affiliated with the ANC, and the latter two were closely identified with the Communist Party. In later years, Nelson Mandela would argue that only the Communist Party was "prepared to work with Africans."²

Though not officially recognised by the Smuts government, the Mineworkers Union, in April 1946, placed several grievances before the Chamber of Mines. The most pressing grievances were the repeal of the War Measure 145 and the establishment of a minimum wage of not less than ten shillings per day for miners. T. R. H. Davenport has underscored the unyielding attitude of the Government; "The Chamber repeatedly ignored the wage demand on the grounds that the Union had no Locus Standi."³

The ANC's response to the miners strike was unclear. Thomas Karis has emphasised the ambiguous stance of the ANC:

Although not directly involved in preparation for the mine workers strike of August 1946, Xuma and the ANC supported the strike; but Xuma's support fell short of endorsement of a general strike.⁴

¹Davenport, South Africa: Modern History, p. 243.

²Nelson Mandela, No Easy Walk to Freedom (New York, 1965), p. 181.

³Davenport, South Africa: Modern History, p. 243.

⁴Karis, Hope and Challenge 1935-1952, vol. 2, pp. 90-91

By contrast, the Youth League of the ANC issued a clear call to the masses for support. They contended that

. . .the African mine workers struggle is our struggle. They are fighting political colour bar and economic discrimination against Africans. ¹

However, the miners failed to obtain full overt support from the cautious Dr. A. B. Xuma.

Having also received a negative reply from the mining officials, the leadership and rank-and-file of the Mineworkers Union decided on 4 August 1946 as the date to commence industrial confrontation. The highly respected Senator Basner and Representative E. H. Brookes tried valiantly to mediate the impending crisis. Both men approached the Native Affairs Commission without success. The former then turned directly to the Chamber of Mines, whereas the latter gained an audience with J. H. Hofmeyr, who was Acting Head of State. Sadly, nothing was resolved by either conference.

In light of the fact that the Lansdowne Commission had been convened by the Smuts government in 1944 to address the problem of wages for mine and power employees, the current strike illustrated the sheer impotency of that Commission when it came to solving the wage question or arriving at a functional African labour policy.

Karis has suggested that the decision by the Government to ruthlessly use deadly force in breaking the mineworkers strike was a contributory factor that led the NRC to decide on adjournment.²

In September 1946, Hofmeyr notified Field Marshal Smuts, who was in Paris, that

¹Karis, Hope and Challenge 1935-1952, vol. 2, p. 70.

²Ibid.

. . . Modest intellectuals of the Professor Matthews' type are now committed to an extreme line against colour discrimination and have carried the chiefs with them. We can't afford to allow them to be swept into the extremist camp but I don't see what we can do to satisfy them which would be tolerated by European public opinion. ¹

Discounting the implied policy of divide and rule, Hofmeyr's statement highlights the dilemma of the "liberal" South African, namely, how to do justice to whites and non-whites.

On 20 November 1946, Hofmeyr gave the Government's reply to "the demands of the NRC for the repeal of the discriminatory colour legislation against the Africans."² Hofmeyr informed the NRC that the grievances would not be honoured.³ Thus the pass laws, the industrial colour bar, and non-recognition of African labour unions would continue.

Mary Benson has posited that J. B. Marks could not restrain the mineworkers after mediations broke down and that "Africans had pitted themselves against the biggest industry in Africa and failed."⁴ Perhaps failure was too strong a word for Benson to use; the NRC was in sharp decline and some 50,000 Africans⁵ had come together in common cause, opening their militant period of positive action against South Africa's social problem.

Shortly after the Second World War ended, the Fifth Pan-African Congress was convened in Manchester, England, in October 1945. In the

¹Alan Paton, Hofmeyr (London, 1964), p. 435.

²Karis, Hope and Challenge 1935-1952, vol. 2, p. 257.

³Lutuli, Let My People Go, p. 104.

⁴Benson, South Africa: Struggle for a Birthright, p. 105.

⁵Kuper, "African Nationalism in South Africa," in Oxford History, ed. Wilson and Thompson, p. 445.

first session, chaired by Mrs. Amy A. Garvey, the question of racial discrimination was addressed. The second session dealt specifically with the problem of the oppressed non-whites in South Africa. Marko Hlubi and Peter Abrahams, both of whom represented the ANC, presented a list of grievances against legal social inequality.¹ A strongly worded resolution was subsequently passed by the Congress recommending "that discrimination on account of race, creed or colour be made a criminal offence by law."²

Perhaps the most important political development for non-whites in South Africa was the civil disobedience campaign embarked upon by the SAIC. This confrontation with the State followed the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, No. 25, 1946. The Indian community responded to this enactment with mass civil disobedience. Between 13 June 1946 and 13 May 1947, "two thousand Indians served terms of imprisonment in deliberate violation of selected discriminatory laws."³

In early October 1946, Dr. Xuma, President General of the ANC, was invited to join Senator Basner, and representatives of the Joint Passive Resistance Council (JPRC) H. A. Naidoo and Sorajbee Rustonjee, in travelling to New York⁴ to formally discuss the issue of South Africa's legal racial discrimination with delegates from India at the United Nations.

¹Immanuel Geiss, The Pan-African Movement (London, 1974), pp. 405-406.

²Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism (New York, 1965), p. 153.

³Fatima Meer, "An Indian's View on Apartheid," in South African Dialogue, ed. N. J. Rhodie, (Johannesburg, 1973), p. 447.

⁴NIC, First Biennial Provincial Conference, 30 May-1 June 1947, Durban, Natal Passive Resistance Council and the Transvaal Resistance Council were the principal components of the Joint Passive Resistance Council, Dr. Naicker and Dr. Dadoo alternately chaired this conference. ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA.

The deputation decided to travel after the promising initiation of the Passive Resistance campaign to protest the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act, 1946, by the Indians in Natal and the Transvaal. This campaign attracted international attention "to the full horrors of the colour bar in South Africa."¹ Messages of support came from many countries, and the moment seemed appropriate for a delegation to lobby the U.N. The lobbying efforts of Xuma, Basner, Naidoo, and Rustonjee proved to be reasonably fruitful. The deputation convinced the representatives of India, Mrs. Pandit and Mr. Krishna Menon, to present their case to the General Assembly. The General Assembly, after much discussion, censured South Africa for the treatment of the South African Indians:

Having taken note of the application made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa, and having considered the matter:

1. States that, because of that treatment, friendly relations between the two Member States have been impaired and, unless a satisfactory settlement is reached, these relations are likely to be further impaired;

2. Is of the opinion that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with the international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two Governments and the relevant provisions of the Charter;

3. Therefore requests the two Governments to report at the next session of the General Assembly the measures adopted to this effect. 2

Gwendolen Carter has correctly viewed 1946 as "a turning point for both

¹JPRC of the NIC, a Report on Passive Resistance, 13 June 1946-13 May 1947, submitted to NIC Provincial Conference, 31 May 1947, ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA.

²United Nations, General Assembly, First Session, Second Part, 1946, Plenary Meeting of the UN General Assembly, Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa: Report of the Joint First and Sixth Committees, (Documents A/205 and A/205/Addendum 1). See also J. Barber, South Africa's Foreign Policy 1945-1970 (New York, 1973), pp. 24-35.

African and Asian organisations."¹ The United Nations' stance against the South African government's undemocratic racial laws and policies was clearly a critical "turning point" for the ANC and the SAIC. It led directly to the formal alliance of the Congresses in 1947.

¹Gwendolen M. Carter, "African Nationalist Movements," in Southern Africa in Transition, ed. John A. Davis and James K. Baker (London, 1966), p. 9.

CHAPTER I

THE POLITICS OF COALITION

The formal alliance between the SAIC and the ANC was instituted on 9 March 1947.¹ The ANC was not directly responsible for that initiative as suggested by Edward Feit.² This initiative was clearly traceable to an overture by the TIC and the NIC to the African political organisation. After the delegation returned from the UN, Dr. Gangathura Mohambry Naicker, President of the NIC, and Dr. Yusuf Mohammed Dadoo, President of the TIC, notified Dr. Alfred Bitini Xuma, President General of the ANC, in early 1947, of the Indian organisations' readiness to establish a united political front with the ANC to combat legal social inequality in South Africa.³ The executive committee of the ANC elected to accept the proposal made by the Indian political organisations. A historical watershed in political cooperation was reached as a "Joint Declaration of Cooperation" was drafted by Dr. Dadoo, Jaydew Nasib Singh and A. Ismail Meer, executive officers of the NIC, Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, President of the ANCYL, and Dr. Xuma. This historic document was ratified by Messrs. Y. A. Cachalia, executive officer of the TIC, and John B. Marks and Daniel Tloome, both trade union leaders and executive officers of the ANC, and other political activists.

The Declaration, formally signed on behalf of their respective organisations by the three Presidents, Naicker, Dadoo, and Xuma, contained

¹Minutes of the Joint Committee of the ANC, NIC, and TIC, 9 May 1947, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

²Edward Feit, Urban Revolt in South Africa 1960-1964 (Chicago, Ill., 1971), p. 16.

³Minutes of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, 1-2 February 1947, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

six clauses that demanded democratic reforms and human rights in the following spheres:

1. Full franchise;
2. Equal economic and industrial rights and opportunities and the recognition of African Trade Unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act;
3. The removal of all land restrictions against Africans, Coloureds, Indians, and the provision of adequate housing facilities for all Africans, Coloureds, and Indians.
4. The extension of free and compulsory education to Africans, Coloureds, and Indians;
5. Guaranteeing freedom of movement and the abolition of Pass Laws against the African people and the Provincial Barrier against Indians; and
6. Removal of all discriminatory and oppressive legislation from the Union's Statute Book. ¹

This major document clearly outlined the socio-political issues and the political priorities of the Congress Alliance. In addition, it committed the national organisations of the African and Indian people to political cooperation in their mutual human rights struggle for equality under law. In a presidential address, a few months later, Dr. Naicker would characterise this joint action "as the best means of waging a struggle for the full implementation of the rights of all peoples of South Africa."²

The political decision to mobilise non-whites for mass action represented the opening stage of the multiorganisational Congress Alliance's political programme to attain full civil, economic and political rights under law for Africans, Coloureds, and Indians in South Africa. Thus, 9 March 1947 formally marked a watershed in the human rights struggle in South Africa.

¹Minutes of the Joint Committee of the ANC, NIC, and TIC, 9 March 1947, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

²Report on the Passive Resistance Campaign, 13 June 1946-13 May 1947, submitted to the NIC, First Biennial Conference, 30 May-1 June 1947, Durban, ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA.

In the months immediately following the auspicious signing of the Joint Declaration of Cooperation, the South African government was openly criticised by the government of India and her allies in the United Nations for its blatantly racist policies and inhumane practices toward individuals and groups of individuals of African, Asian, and Coloured extraction. External criticism of legal social inequality by the United Nations General Assembly continued to grow in scope and intensity. The egalitarian theme of human rights as spelled out in the United Nations Charter ignited a high level debate between the governments of India and South Africa over the issue of legal racial discrimination. Congress Alliance leaders, Drs. Dadoo and Naicker, were partly responsible for intensifying Asian criticism of South Africa's undemocratic laws.

On 10 March 1947, Congressmen Dadoo and Naicker embarked upon a diplomatic mission to Delhi, India, to marshal Asian support for their South African programme of egalitarianism.¹ The Congressmen sought and received the backing of many Asian nationalists who were in attendance at the All-Asian Conference convened in Delhi. These conferees were vehemently opposed to the politics of inequality as represented by colonialism, imperialism, and racialism which had accompanied European domination of peoples of colour.² The South African government's denial of self-determination to its African, Asian, and Coloured communities as specified in the third clause of the Atlantic Charter and in both

¹Report on the Passive Resistance Campaign, 13 June 1946-13 May 1947, submitted to the NIC, First Biennial Conference, 30 May-1 June 1947, Durban, ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA.

²Rupert Emerson, From Empire to Nations: The Rise of Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples (Boston, 1960).

Articles 1 and 55 of the United Nations Charter was a common grievance shared by the participants in the All-Asian Conference who themselves were in a struggle for human rights.

Congressmen Dadoo and Naicker were quite successful in their attempt to increase Asian opposition to the politics of inequality as practiced by the South African government. The recent focus of the United Nations upon the government of South Africa contributed to their positive impact at the All-Asian Conference. Thus it was not too surprising that diplomatic relations between India and South Africa grew increasingly worse during this period. It was the political pressure that the Congressmen applied as they lobbied for Asian support that prompted Jawaharlal Nehru, Minister for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, to notify the South African Prime Minister, Field Marshal Smuts, on 25 April 1947, of his government's preparedness to implement immediately the resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, 8 December 1946.¹ This very important resolution had clearly stipulated that the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa should conform to the "relevant provisions" of the United Nations Charter. In addition, the General Assembly had strongly recommended to the governments of India and South Africa that they attempt to resolve the burning question of Indians' rights through joint negotiations.² The "relevant provisions" were succinctly proclaimed in the Preamble to the UN Charter which fully endorsed the principle of

¹Jawaharlal Nehru, Minister for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, India, to Field Marshal Smuts, Prime Minister, South Africa, 24 April 1947, ANC Papers, M856, ICSA.

²United Nations, General Assembly, First Session, 1946, Report of the Joint First and Sixth Committees on the Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa, (A/205 and A/205/Addendum 1).

Human Rights: "We the Peoples of the United Nations determined. . . to reaffirm . . . faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small."¹ In one of history's great paradoxes, the author of this egalitarian proclamation was none other than the Right Honourable Jan Christian Smuts, first President of the General Assembly and Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.²

In his reply to Minister Nehru dated 28 April 1947, Prime Minister Smuts informed the government of India that the return of India's High Commissioner to the Union of South Africa was a prerequisite to meaningful negotiations on the question of Indian rights.³ The government of India did not agree. India's High Commissioner had been recalled and trade relations had been broken off because of legal social inequality. Minister Nehru countered with the contention, in a letter dated 6 May 1947, that the High Commissioner had been recalled for "consultation" owing to the rapidly deteriorating state of affairs which existed between the two governments. Not wishing to postpone negotiations or shift the focus to the issue of the High Commissioner, Nehru asserted that the issue of the High Commissioner should not be allowed to "debar" further discussions on the question of Indian rights in the Union of South Africa.⁴ Prime

¹Maurice Waters, The United Nations (London, 1967), p. 553.

²Smuts, Jan Christian Smuts, pp. 386-387; Hancock, Smuts, the Fields of Force 1919-1956, vol. 2, p. 450.

³J. C. Smuts, Prime Minister, South Africa, to Jawaharlal Nehru, Minister for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, India, 28 April 1947, ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA.

⁴Jawaharlal Nehru, Minister for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, India, to Field Marshal Smuts, Prime Minister, South Africa, 6 May 1947, ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA.

Minister Smuts delayed his reply to Minister Nehru until 18 June 1947. In the interim, Congressmen Dadoo and Naicker had returned to South Africa on 27 May 1947.

In a major presidential address to the NIC on 30 May 1947, Congressman Naicker did not dwell on the recently ended (13 May) Passive Resistance Campaign as might have been expected. Instead, Congressman Naicker discussed in great detail his triumphant lobbying effort at the All-Asian Conference. Minister Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi and other Asian leaders had pledged their full support to the Africans, Coloureds, and Indians' joint struggle for human rights in South Africa. It was this overt reinforcement from the most prominent Asian nationalists¹ on the one hand, and the revolutionary reality of political cooperation between Indian, Coloured, and African organisations, that subsequently facilitated Congressman Naicker's election to the presidency of the SAIC in 1948 over the more conservative faction led by Ahmed Ismail. As a result of the rise of militant African and Asian nationalism coupled with the UNO stance on human rights, the day of the conservative's quiet diplomacy and passive opposition to legal social inequality was passing. Smuts seemed determined to halt this trend.

While Congressmen Dadoo and Naicker were attending the All-Asian Conference, Smuts had been holding negotiations with conservative Indians, who according to the Prime Minister, expressed a great deal of apprehension to the "radical" policies being pursued by the two Congressmen. Because the Congressmen had taken a hardline against legal social inequality, Smuts raised the red herring of communist

¹Minutes of the NIC, First Biennial Conference, Durban, 30 May-1 June 1947, ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA.

influence.¹ In contrast to the Congress Alliance's militant call for political, social, civil and human rights to be granted to all South Africans, the conservatives were more than willing to accept a more conciliatory political agenda. On 18 June 1947, Prime Minister Smuts, apparently with some degree of self-satisfaction, notified Minister Nehru of the formation of the Natal Indian Organisation and expressed his confidence in this conservative group's ability to work closely with the Government in uncovering a mutually acceptable solution to the question of Indian rights in South Africa.²

A. I. Kaje, President of the conservative Indian organisation, had stated forthrightly, on 17 April 1947, that he had "no respect and no use for the Indian who mixes up the Indian cause with the Communists' cause."³ Smuts and Kaje, as many others would do in the future through ignorance or cunning, linked political ideologies and economic systems to the Africans, Coloureds, and Indians' struggle for fundamental human rights. The right of each individual to equal justice under law was a legal and moral tenet of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Obviously, the egalitarian principle of human equality under law was not a capitalist ideal nor was it a communist ideal; it was a liberal, humanistic, democratic tenet with deep roots in Western political philosophy. Two examples of the longevity of the principle of human equality under law are: The Declaration of Independence of the

¹Secretary for External Affairs, South Africa, to P. Nehru, Secretary for External Affairs, India, 18 June 1947, ANC Papers, M856, ICSA.

²Ibid.

³Text of talk to Maritzburg Rotary, South Africa, by Mr. Abdulla Ismail Kaje, President of the NIO, 17 April 1947, ANC Papers, M856, ICSA.

United States, 1776, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens, 1789.¹ As one of the fifty-one signatories to the UN Charter, South Africa had formally pledged to encourage respect for human rights and self-determination without distinction as to sex or race. Moreover, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulated in Article seven that "all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law."² It was this massive South African contradiction - an external pledge to the international community to fully uphold the egalitarian principle of human equality under law on the one hand, and the far stronger internal commitment to segregation, racial discrimination, and the grossly undemocratic politics of legal social inequality,³ that greatly exacerbated the tragic human problem in South Africa. It was this stark contradiction and not communism, as Smuts suggested, that clearly established the lines of political conflict between the Congress Alliance (egalitarianism) and the South African government (the undemocratic politics of inequality).

Progressive Indian and African Congressmen would continue to challenge the South African contradiction. In a flyer issued by the

¹For the development of the concept of equality under law in Western political thought, see: James H. Billington, Fire in the Minds of Men: Origins of the Revolutionary Faith (New York, 1980); William Ebenstein, Great Political Thinkers: Plato to the Present (New York, 1961); I. Kramnick, "Reflections on Revolution: Definition and Explanation in Recent Scholarship," History and Theory, 1972, no. 1, pp. 26-63; Myres S. McDougal and Gerhard Behr, "Human Rights in the United Nations," American Journal of International Law, 1964, vol. 58, pp. 603-641; Herbert J. Muller, Freedom in the Modern World (New York, 1966); George H. Sabine, A History of Political Theory (New York, 1950); and A. J. P. Taylor, Revolutions and Revolutionaries, (New York, 1980).

²James Avery Joyce, The Politics of Human Rights, (London, 1978), pp. 237-243.

³Carter, Politics of Inequality,

ANC on 21 March 1947, Congressman Xuma stated that "all liberty loving people, men and women. . . of (all) races must join in this struggle."¹

A few weeks later, six leading members of the Native Representative Council shocked Prime Minister Smuts in a meeting on 7 May 1947, when they demanded the repeal of all discriminatory legislation. The African leaders also sought to obtain direct representation in all legislative bodies, municipal, provincial and national. Prime Minister Smuts clearly was not prepared to grant the NRC this substantial political reform.²

On 11 May 1947, Congressman Xuma summed up the conference between Smuts and the African representatives in the following manner:

The Africans are being in effect asked by the Prime Minister in his proposals to administer their own domination, discrimination, and oppression under the cloak of giving Africans responsibility and participation in the administration of their own affairs. ³

In light of the UN call for self-determination, indirect representation was an undemocratic, morally bankrupt and out-moded policy. Nonetheless, Prime Minister Smuts held fast to the Government's reactionary policy of legal social inequality, a policy that deprived the people of liberty and fundamental human rights and constituted a breach of an international obligation under the United Nations Charter; a policy that was clearly retrogressive. It promoted divisions rather than national unity; it sowed discord and racial bitterness. The policy of legal inequality

¹"To All Africans and Friends of Justice," A flyer issued by Dr. A. B. Xuma, President General of the ANC, 21 March 1947, CKC, Reel 1B, CRL.

²Report of interview by some NRC members with Prime Minister Jan C. Smuts; Verbatim Report of the Proceedings; Press Conference remarks by Paul R. Mosaka and Professor Z. K. Matthews, and Statement by Professor Matthews, 8-9 May 1947, CKC, Reel 11, CRL.

³Statement on the Prime Minister's Proposals by Dr. A. B. Xuma for the ANC, 12 July 1947, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

masked a social status quo of oppression, discrimination, intolerance, and racial hatred. It was a policy designed to maintain the privileged position of whites in the Union of South Africa, while legally justifying the economic, political, and social exploitation of Africans, Coloureds, and Asians. South Africa's entire social and economic system and standard of living for non-whites was based on inequality in wages, housing, transportation, social services, education, and the like.

On 12 July 1947, Congressman Xuma emphatically stated the African people's alternative to the South African government's policy: "We want common citizenship. . .irrespective of race or colour."¹ Africans were denied civil and political rights, underpaid for their labour, prohibited from traveling freely because of the pass system, confined by law to overcrowded locations, restricted in property rights, and severely limited in educational opportunities. Africans, Asians, and Coloureds, alike, were victimised by legal social inequality in public places, on mass transportation, and in all spheres of social life. The legitimate demands of the Africans, Asians, and Coloureds for equality of opportunity and equality under law had been repeatedly ignored by the South African government.

The prevailing attitude of the South African government towards the Coloureds was one of 'paternalism'. The Coloureds had limited voting privileges on the common voting roll in the Cape and were employed as unskilled or semiskilled workers in the areas of agriculture, industry, and civil and domestic service. A few were the businessmen and professionals of their community.² Van den Berghe felt that on

¹"Boycott Resolution," A flyer issued by the National Office of the ANC, 12 July 1947, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

²van den Berghe, South Africa, p. 64.

the whole, "the status of the Coloureds was markedly superior to that of Africans and Indians."¹

The Indians, too, suffered serious violations of their fundamental human rights. They were denied the right to vote and did not have direct representation in the local, provincial, or national government; movement from one province to another was prohibited; property ownership was severely restricted; opportunity for economic growth was curtailed; acquisition of arable land was prevented, and residence was confined to urban ghettos.²

Undemocratic treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa continued to impair friendly relations between the governments of India and South Africa. On 2 September 1947, the Indian government submitted a report to the General Assembly concerning the question of Indian rights. The Union of South Africa followed with its report to the UN on 15 September 1947. The General Assembly referred the question of Indian rights to the First Committee on 23 September 1947. A month later, Prime Minister Smuts made a speech at Cape Town in which, according to Mrs. Pandit, India's representative to the UN, he stated that the "Union of South Africa did not need to bother about the requests of the United Nations."³ However, the committee convened a general debate on the dispute on 12 November 1947.⁴

¹van den Berghe, South Africa, p. 151.

²United Nations, General Assembly, 1st Session, 14 November 1947, "Continuation of the Discussion on the Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa." Excerpts from the remarks of Mr. Ispahani, Pakistan's delegate to the United Nations.

³United Nations, General Assembly, 1st Session, 14 November 1947, "Discussion on the Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa." Excerpts from the remarks of Mrs. Pandit, India's representative to the United Nations.

During the debate, a tragic pattern emerged between the Eastern and Western bloc nations over the question of Indian rights in the Union of South Africa. Western democracies, led by Great Britain and the United States of America, aligned with the Union of South Africa over the legal question of the General Assembly's "competency and jurisdiction" to decide the Indian question. The socialist countries of Eastern Europe, spearheaded by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Poland, supported India. Poland's representative to the UN, Mr. Lapter, seized the opportunity, on 12 November 1947, to expand the political argument to include the Africans and Coloureds when he stated, "The problem could only be understood and solved if the whole policy of the Union of South Africa towards so-called non-Europeans were taken into consideration."¹ This expansion of the problem of human rights to include Africans and Coloureds was a propaganda and ideological coup for the Eastern bloc. While the representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the Union of South Africa were quibbling and splitting legal hairs, the Socialist nations skillfully seized the opportunity to champion the non-whites' human rights struggle in South Africa.

On 14 November 1947, Mr. Bebler, Yugoslavia's representative to the UN, compared the discriminatory legislation passed by the South African government to that of Nazi Germany.² At the following session,

⁴United Nations, General Assembly, 1 November 1947, Report of the First Committee: Treatment of the Indians in the Union of South Africa (Document A/492) Annex 26.

¹United Nations, General Assembly, 1st Session, 12 November 1947, "Continuation of the Discussion on the Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa," (Documents A/64 Addendum 1, page 69, A/373, A/387, A/C.1/244). Excerpts from the remarks of Mr. Lapter, Poland's representative to the United Nations.

²Ibid. Excerpts from the remarks of Mr. Bebler, Yugoslavia's representative to the United Nations.

14 November 1947, the South African representative to the UN, Mr. Lawrence, in keeping with Prime Minister Smuts' thesis that the Union of South Africa did not need to heed the "requests of the United Nations," sought desperately to have the "dispute" submitted to the International Court of Justice for a ruling on its legality. Lawrence's principal allies in this ploy continued to be the representatives from the United Kingdom, Mr. MacNeil, and the United States of America, Mr. Fahy.¹ On 20 November 1947, Mr. Lawrence continued to press for an International Court ruling; he cited Article 2, Paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter as evidence that the Indian question was a "matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the Union of South Africa."² The legal maneuver failed to sway India and the Eastern bloc republics.

Lawrence's argument was countered by Mr. Galagan, representative to the UN from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, who postulated that racial discrimination was the chief obstacle to human rights:

A particularly characteristic example of this is provided at the present time by the situation in the Union of South Africa, that homeland of neo-fascism, where the racial regime of Smuts, established with a view to the exploitation and enslavement of the many millions of natives and people of Asiatic origin, is sowing the seeds of national enmity and distrust between peoples and to savage racial discrimination. . . .The Indian people is striving not only for the abolition of the Act of 1946, but for the complete

¹United Nations, General Assembly, 15 November 1947, "Continuation of the Discussion on the Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa (Documents A/64, Addendum 1. A/373, A/387,A/C.1/244).

. 17 November 1947, . . . (Documents A/64/Addendum 1. A/373, A/387, A/C. 1/244, Rev. 1, A/C. 1/266, A/C. 1/268, A/C. 1/269. . 17 November 1947, . . . (Documents A/373, A/387, A/C. 1/244/Rev. 1, A/C. 1/266, A/C. 1/269, A/C. 1/270, A/C. 1/271.

²United Nations, General Assembly, 1st Session, 20 November 1947, "Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa," Report of the First Committee (Document A/492).

destruction and eradication of the barbarity, slavery, inequality and contempt for coloured people which the South African authorities have introduced and are now consciously encouraging their country. The Indian people is striving to make sure that the Government of the Union of South Africa carries out the Charter of the United Nations and observes international agreements. ¹

Primarily, as a result of the Eastern bloc and India's stand, the South African government lost its contention of domestic jurisdiction. However, at stake was a far greater victory; the legitimate issue of human rights in South Africa had become a pawn in the East-West cold war game. This extremely negative factor greatly strengthened the South African government's ability to continue the status quo of legal social inequality. Because of ideological competition, Smuts gained the tacit support of the Western democracies. On his return to South Africa, Mr. Lawrence was instructed by Smuts to meet with the conservative South African Indian Organisation in Durban. Lawrence urged the conservative organisation to rely upon mutual discussions and to reject the outside influences of India and the United Nations. ² Clearly, the UN resolutions had not influenced the undemocratic racist policies of the South African government in the least.

Politically aware Africans, Asians, and Coloureds who thought they saw a ray of hope for human rights, democratic reforms, non-racial citizenship, self-determination, and equality under law in South Africa, were mistaken. Egalitarianism was not forthcoming. The dark shadow of the

¹United Nations, General Assembly, 1st Session, 20 November 1947, "Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa," Report of the First Committee (Document A/492).

²Prime Minister, South Africa, to the Chairman of the South African Indian Organisation Meeting in Conference, Durban, 29 December 1947, ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA.

fascist Nationalist party was on the horizon. Dr. Daniel Francois Malan, an avowed white racist and leader of the Nationalist Party, was proclaiming a new policy and programme - the ideology of apartheid. In late 1947, the headquarters of the Nationalist Party published a pamphlet defining its undemocratic intentions:

The policy of our country should encourage total apartheid as the ultimate goal of a natural process of separate development . . . (Africans) in the urban areas should be regarded as migratory citizens not entitled to political or social rights equal to those of the Whites. ¹

Apartheid would be applicable to the Indian and Coloured communities, as well. In the face of the extremists' political rhetoric, Congressman Xuma stressed that the attainment of fundamental human, civil, political and economic rights without distinctions of any kind was the programme and policy of the African, Asian, and Coloured peoples. "All races in South Africa," he argued, "must organise public opinion in order to attain common citizenship."² Legal social inequality, according to Xuma's judgment, was a policy "of National suicide."³

On 28 May 1948, Governor General Brand van Zyl accepted the resignation of Smuts and his Cabinet, and invited Malan to form a new government. The multiracial popular front at home and its movement toward united action against institutionalised racism, coupled with increased United Nations criticism of South Africa's inhumane racial policies

¹Brian Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich (London, 1969), p. 125.

²Statement issued at a press conference on coming general elections, by Dr. A. B. Xuma, President General of the ANC, 5 April 1948, CKC, Reel 1B, CRL.

³Ibid.

were factors that contributed to the defeat of the United Party and Prime Minister Smuts.¹

Congress spokesmen had long argued for a non-racial democracy and asserted that their human rights struggle was not anti-white, but pro-social justice. Smuts certainly had not kept the "radical" African, Asian, and Coloured Congressmen in their "place." Malan had candidly promised the electorate that he would enforce the politics of legal social inequality. The Nationalist Party had curiously contended on 29 March 1948 that its policy of apartheid was based on "Christian principles of justice" and that this policy was necessary to safeguard the "purity" of the European race in Africa.² Moreover, the Nationalists proclaimed that South Africa would at all costs remain an anti-communist bastion of white civilisation. The non-white communities of the country rightly anticipated that the Nationalist government would violate their human rights.³

One of the first political acts of the reactionary regime was to introduce and pass the Asiatic Laws Amendment Act and the Electoral Laws Amendment Act. Both enactments were clearly repressive, undemocratic, and violated the human rights of the Asian and Coloured people. The first law withdrew Asian

. . .representation in Parliament and the Natal Provincial Council which had been granted to the Indians by the Smuts government

¹James Barber, South African Foreign Policy 1945-1970 (London, 1973), p. 41.

²United Nations, General Assembly, 8th Session, 1953, Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Extracts from the pamphlet The National Party's Colour Policy, (South Africa, 29 March 1948), Supplement No. 16, (Document A/2052 and A/2505/Addendum 1), pp. 139-140.

³Davenport, South Africa: Modern History, p. 262; Lutuli, Let My People Go, p. 97.

in 1946 as a quid pro quo for the Pegging Act. . . .The second measure. . .provided that the application form of a Coloured voter should be witnessed and completed in the presence of an electoral officer. . . .Previously a voter could complete his form without supervision, and all that was required was its lodgement with the electoral officer. 1

External reaction to this blatant violation of human rights was very swift in coming. The Indian government, in July 1948, again petitioned the UNO to reexamine the question of racial discrimination in the Union of South Africa. Without responding specifically to the charges levied by the Indian government, Mr. Eric H. Louw, South Africa's principal delegate, articulated the anti-human rights policy of the Malan regime to the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee in the General Assembly, 1 October 1948. Louw indicated that his Government opposed the Draft Declaration of Human Rights. He contended:

. . .The whole scope of the declaration was too broad and suggested that it would be better to promote respect throughout the world for a limited category of human rights and fundamental freedoms. He advocated support only for the generally recognised fundamental rights, such as freedom of religion and speech, liberty of the person, the inviolability of the person, and property and free access to courts of impartial justice. Mr. Louw asserted that it was not the United Nations' function to codify a whole philosophy of life and cautioned against accepting a human rights code that attempted too much. 2

By contrast, Congressman Xuma fully endorsed the concept of human equality under law.³ However, the South African government refused to assent to the international instrument, thus rejecting the egalitarian ideals proclaimed by the world's great philosophies and religions; ideals that culminated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁴ On 10 December 1948,

¹Bunting, Rise of the South African Reich, pp. 135-136.

²"South Africa firm over Segregation," The New York Times, 2 October 1948

³Cable to U.N., Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General, from Dr. A. B. Xuma, President General of the ANC, 25 November 1948, CKC, Reel 1B, CRL.

⁴McDougal and Bebr, "Human Rights in the United Nations," and Joyce, New Politics of Human Rights, pp. 7-60.

the UNO adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights over the strong opposition from the South African government.

Congressman Xuma responded to South Africa's undemocratic white-only thesis in his annual presidential address on 14 December 1948. He refuted the Government's reactionary thesis of an ethnic civilisation by arguing the more mature concept of an integrated world civilisation to which all segments of humanity had richly contributed. Xuma went on to insist that the high "political ethics and morals" of the late Acting Prime Minister, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, should serve as the model for those who would be defenders of white civilisation.¹ Unlike Prime Ministers Botha, Hertzog, Smuts, and Malan, Hofmeyr,² as one of the most outstanding South African liberals, had repeatedly condemned the Herrenvolk Principle.

The formal alliance between the Congresses suffered its first severe crisis on 13 January 1949 when ugly race rioting erupted between Zulus and Indians in Durban. Scores of people were killed and hundreds were injured during the three days of racial clashes. Indian stores were looted and Indian homes were set on fire. Property damage was extensive. The Government opened refugee camps and emergency medical facilities to care for the Indians who were victims of the Zulu. At the grass roots level, racial conflict between Indian merchants and Zulu tribesmen was acute. It was claimed, at the time, that Indian traders and employers exploited their black servants and customers who, in turn, harboured a great deal of resentment.³

¹Minutes of the 36th Annual Conference of the ANC, 14-15 December 1948, "Eulogy Address," Molema Papers, M842, ICSA.

²Alan Paton, South African Tragedy: The Life and Times Of Hofmeyr (New York, 1965).

³See Kenneth Kirkwood and Maurice Webb, The Durban Riots and After (Johannesburg, 1949) for a detailed account of the riot.

Two prominent members of the Congress Movement, Mr. A. W. G. Champion, President of the ANC-Natal, and Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the NTC, appealed for calm and openly condemned the wasteful violence.¹ In a major act of diplomacy, the SAIC and ANC salvaged the African-Indian political alliance. The leadership issued a joint communique on 6 February 1949 which claimed that

. . .the fundamental and basic causes of the disturbances are traceable to the political, economic, and social structure of this country, based on differential and discriminatory treatment of the various racial groups and the preaching in high places of racial hatred and intolerance. 2

This communique was most significant because it demonstrated that in a crisis the two political organisations could cooperate. In a sharp rebuttal, Mr. Eric Louw contended that the Durban riot was not connected with the racial policies of the South African government. In point of fact, it was Government intervention, Louw argued, that saved the lives and property of the vast majority of the Indian population of the Durban metropolitan area.³ In political terms, the Alliance turned the tragedy into a counter-attack on the policy of legal social inequality. The strategy worked and preserved the multiracial popular front. The Alliance had been tested by interracial conflict and it had survived.

On 11 May 1949, South Africa's delegate to the UN, Mr. Louw, continued to oppose "UN interference" in the Union of South Africa's domestic affairs:

¹"Joint Statement on the Durban Riots," issued by A. W. G. Champion, President of the ANC-Natal, and Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the NTC, 14 January 1949, CKC, Reel 3B, CRL.

²"Statement issued by the Joint Meeting of African and Indian Leaders for Closer Cooperation," 6 February 1949, CKC. Reel 2B, CRL.

³United Nations, General Assembly, 3rd Session, 1949, Plenary Meetings, "Discussion on the Question of the Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa (continued)," pp. 272-283.

Mr. Louw warned the Committee that if it were to interpret Article 56 in the sense that the United Nations could intervene in the domestic jurisdiction of a state in questions relating to human rights, then it would lay itself open to the submission of numerous charges relating to the matters referred to in Article 55 such as the maintenance of economic and social standards. ¹

Louw insisted that the Union of South Africa be permitted to solve its multiracial problem in its own peculiar manner. He ignored that one of the basic purposes of the international assembly was to establish a universally recognised code of human rights. The UN Charter contained as many as nine clear references to fundamental freedoms and human rights. Yet since Prime Minister Malan's Nationalist Party had come to power a year earlier, its social policy had been one of unrestrained human rights violations. The Congress Movement's call for democratic reforms, individual freedoms, civil rights, political rights, and legal equality under law had been met by Malan's undemocratic policy of apartheid. On 14 May 1949, the General Assembly invited the governments of the Union of South Africa, Pakistan, and India to enter into talks at a round-table conference. Further, the General Assembly recommended that the three governments take into consideration the aims and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.²

Faced with the recalcitrant Government's hardline policy against the extension of equal human rights to non-whites, the ANC and the Inter-denominational African Minister's Association organised a national day of prayer on 21 August 1949 to peacefully dramatise African opposition to

¹United Nations, General Assembly, 1st Session, 11 May 1949, "Discussion on the Question of the Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa (continued)." Remarks of the Representative of the Union of South Africa, Mr. Eric Louw.

²United Nations, General Assembly, 1st Session, 14 May 1949, "Resolutions adopted on the Reports of the First Committee."

Malan's social policy of apartheid. One aspect of Government policy was vividly underscored by Professor C. J. Uyo of Bloemfontein University College. He stated, "The development of (an African) national consciousness is one of the most dangerous trends to be seen in South Africa at present. Therefore. . .the white policy should be divide and rule."¹ By contrast, the Congress Movement advocated multiracial cooperation. For instance, in 1948, the "militant" Congress Youth League of the ANC issued a position paper on cooperation with other ethnic groups. Section 6, clauses C and D are most revealing:

Although like the Africans, the Indians are oppressed as a group, yet they differ from the Africans in their historical and cultural background among other things. They have their mother-country, India, but thousands of them made South Africa and Africa their home. They, however, did not come as conquerors and exploiters, but as the exploited. As long as they do not undermine or impede our liberation struggle we should not regard them as intruders or enemies.

Coloureds, like the Indians, they differ from the Africans, they are a distinct group, suffering group oppression. But their oppression differs in degree from that of the Africans. The Coloureds have no motherland to look up to, and but for historical accidents they might be nearer to the (Africans) than are the Indians, seeing they descend in part at least from the aboriginal (Khoikhoen) who with Africans and (San) are original children of Black Africa. Coloureds, like the Indians will never win their national freedom unless they organise a Coloured People's National Organisation to lead in the struggle for the National Freedom of the Coloureds. The National Organisations of the Africans, Indians, and Coloureds may co-operate on common issues.²

It is recalled that the Joint Declaration of Cooperation was drafted and witnessed by the ANCYL President, Anton Lembede, in 1947. Clearly at this time, the Youth League did, in fact, support the policy of multiracial political cooperation.

¹"Negro Day of Prayer Held in South Africa," New York Times, 22 August 1949.

²"Basic Policy of Congress Youth League," Manifesto issued by the National Executive Committee of the ANC Youth League, 1948, CKC, Reel 2B, CRL.

At the ANC's national convention, convened in December 1949, the Youth League lobbied for "positive action" to be taken against the grossly undemocratic social policy being pursued by the racist Government at home and defended by Louw at the UN. To the chagrin of the "militants", Congressman Xuma was unprepared to implement the Youth League's Programme of Action introduced in the National Congress in December 1948.¹ The Programme of Action called for, among other things, civil disobedience, political strikes, boycotts, and non-cooperation with the oppressive South African government.² The transfer of political control of the ANC from Congressman Xuma to the Youth League's "African Nationalist" candidate, Dr. J. S. Moroka, was easily accomplished for several reasons, the most important being that in Congressman Moroka, the Youth League found a candidate who was prepared to effect positive action against the Government and was committed to political cooperation with all other national anti-government organisations. Moreover, the ANC passed a resolution totally rejecting the contention that South Africa's racial problem was merely a domestic matter. The resolution stated in part, that the "UNO has a right to intervene in this matter, which unless dealt with in accordance with the principles of the UNO Charter, will ultimately lead to armed conflict between the races in this country."³

The policy of the Moroka administration was quickly tested by subsequent events. On 2 February 1950, Congressman C. Doyle Modiakgotha,

¹Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, pp. 399-400.

²Kuper, "African Nationalism in South Africa 1910-1964," in Oxford History, vol. 2, ed. Wilson and Thompson, p. 461.

³Minutes of the 37th Annual Conference of the ANC, 15-19 December 1949, "The End of the Xuma Period," Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

Secretary of the ANC Kimberley Branch, advised Moroka that a clarification of the ANC's policy on multiorganisational political cooperation would be greatly valued by Congressman G. M. Naicker, President of the NIC.¹ A second and far more public opportunity was provided Congressman Moroka on 28 February 1950, at which time the TIC, through its secretary, Congressman A. M. Kathrada, informed Dr. S. M. Molema, Treasurer General of the ANC and close aide to Moroka, that a jointly organised Defend Free Speech Convention was to be held on 26 March 1950. Congressman Kathrada requested the participation of the ANC. The sponsoring organisations of the Defend Free Speech Convention were the Johannesburg District Communist Party, the APO-Transvaal, the ANC-Transvaal, and the TIC.² This convention was not essentially a Communist Party initiative as suggested by Walshe.³ It would be more accurate to characterise it as a political initiative undertaken by the various wings of the Congress Movement.

The Defend Free Speech Convention had been called by the Coalition to protest Malan's violation of civil liberties under the very harsh Riotous Assemblies Act. Under this Act, several leading members of the Congress Movement had been banned by the Government. Among those banned were Congressman Dadoo, executive officer of the SAIC, Congressman Sam Kahn, African Representative in Parliament and executive officer of the SACP, and Messrs. Moses Kotane, Secretary General of the SACP, and John B. Marks, trade unionist and ANC leader. All of these men were

¹C. Doyle Modiakgotha, Secretary of the ANC, Kimberly, to Dr. J. S. Moroka, President General of the ANC, and Dr. S. M. Molema, Treasurer General of the ANC, 2 February 1950, Molema Papers, M842, ICSA.

²A. M. Kathrada, Secretary of the TIC, to Dr. S. M. Molema, President General of the ANC, 28 February 1950, Molema Papers, M842, ICSA.

³Walshe, Rise of African Nationalism, p. 366.

important members of the SACP and collectively, they had a significant constituency inside and outside of the Coalition. Carter and Karis stated that "in 1950 the Communist Party had about 2000 members, about three-fourths of them were Africans."¹ Asians, Coloureds, and Europeans made up the remaining twenty-five per cent. The Communist Party had strong credentials as a social force against racism. Both the SACP and their Eastern bloc allies actively supported the concept of egalitarian social revolution and the equal allocation of human rights for all South Africans.

Congressman Moroka's decision to address the Defend Free Speech Convention was a clear signal to all anti-government social forces that the ANC had fully rejected a narrow interpretation of African nationalism. By agreeing to cooperate politically with the APO, SAIC, and the SACP, Dr. Moroka led the ANC across the Rubicon of multiorganisational political cooperation. This political decision by the leadership of the ANC to affiliate and cooperate with all national organisations that supported the policy of a non-racial democracy in South Africa calls into question the simplistic communist manipulation thesis posited by Jordan K. Ngubane.² Clearly the ANC was not duped nor manipulated, but was a cognizant and willing ally in the alliance of the Congresses. If a left-wing super-structure existed within the Coalition, as the editors of The Bantu World suggest,³ it most certainly was not imposed by the Communist Party. The concordat between allies was a clear case of a common political foe.

¹Karis, "The Programme of Action in 1950," in Hope and Challenge 1935-1952, pp. 405-410.

²Jordan K Ngubane, An African Explains Apartheid (London, 1963).

³The Bantu World, Johannesburg, 25 March 1950.

The Government was their common oppressor. Thus, multiracial political resistance to the Government was a feasible policy.

Because of this political concordat between the SAIC, APO, ANC, and the SACP, the Defend Free Speech Convention marked the second stage in the development of the alliance of Congresses in South Africa. At this convention, the national organisations began to reach a consensus on objectives and strategies. What linked these political organisations together in common resistance was not nationalism or socialism, but the shared commitment to fight for the human rights of the oppressed African, Indian, and Coloured people.¹

The Coalition's joint decision to resist the Government's policy of banning Congressmen was based upon the grounds that their right of free speech was being abridged. At the Defend Free Speech Convention, the leadership of the Congress Movement called upon the masses to effect a political strike on 1 May 1950 to register their disapproval of the Riotous Assemblies Act. The SAIC, APO, ANC, and the SACP held the opinion that the "Act" was an outrageous attack on individual freedoms and human rights.² The May Day Defend Free Speech demonstrations were marred when police opened fire on the unarmed demonstrators. People were injured in Brakpan, Benoni, Orlando, Sophiatown, and Newclare. C. R. Swart, Minister of Justice, expressed approval at the way in which the police responded to the nonviolent protest. M. Ballinger, African Representative in Parliament, requested that the incident be investigated by members of Parliament.³ Due to the excessive force used by the police, thirty-eight

¹Resolution adopted at the Conference of Representatives of the Executive Committees of National Organisations, Johannesburg, 14 May 1950, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

²Ibid.

³The Bantu World, 6 May 1950.

persons sustained injury and eighteen were killed. The executive officers of the Coalition considered the outcome of the political strike a disaster of the highest proportion, but they remained determined to mobilise public opinion against the Government's policy of apartheid.¹

Following the May Day mayhem, the leaders of the SAIC, APO, SACP, and the ANC Youth League were summoned by the Working Committee of the ANC to an Emergency Conference. The Conference was convened 14 May 1950 in Johannesburg.² The new concerns were the recently enacted Group Areas Act (1950) and the newly introduced Unlawful Organisations Bill (5 May 1950) of the Nationalist Government. In what was considered a very appropriate course of action, the national leadership of the multiracial Coalition pledged the full support of their respective organisations behind a strategy to mobilise mass resistance against the "Bills." United in resistance, the leaders rightly concluded that the pending Unlawful Organisation Bill would sharply curtail their democratic right to organise, to assemble and to speak out against the racist policies implemented by the Malan government. The leaders feared that if made law, the Unlawful Organisation Bill would be used to stifle the people's legitimate demands for democratic reforms and nonracial citizenship under law.³ Under the extremely undemocratic terms of the Unlawful Organisation Bill, any organisation that promoted radical political,

¹Draft Report of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, submitted to the 38th Annual Conference of the ANC, 15-17 December 1950, CKC, Reel 8A, CRL.

²Ibid.

³Resolution adopted at the Conference of Representatives of the Executive Committee of the National Organisations, 14 May 1950, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

industrial, economic or social change could be declared "unlawful" by the Minister of Justice and thereby forced to disband. An individual could be forced, by the State, to resign from any organisation that condemned or attempted to challenge the status quo. Clearly, this far-reaching piece of legislation would strike at the nerve center of the Coalition. Radical change of the status quo of legal social inequality were the declared objectives of the national organisations that comprised the alliance of the Congresses. A socio-economic aspect of the legal status quo was clearly outlined by Gwendolen M. Carter:

The legal restrictions on the acquisition of land by Africans outside the reserved areas and the virtual impossibility of Africans accumulating the resources needed to own even small manufacturing concerns give rise to a classically Marxist situation in which the means of production are in the hands of the white group controlling the government, and the landless proletariat provides the workers of industry. The strain that would be induced anywhere by this situation is intensified in South Africa by the fact that the two groups are also differentiated by colour, and that the landless proletariat is constantly subjected to the discriminatory provisions of the racial apartheid (apartness) policy.¹

Moreover, the Group Areas Act was another negative feature of the South African legal status quo. This Act would legally restrict each racial group of the country to a specified living area, further dividing the fragmented community. Legally imposed segregation would only encourage racialism by creating artificial barriers and social inequalities. It would also foster racial contempt between the various racial groups. In light of the potential hardships that would flow from the racist legislation, the multiracial Coalition felt compelled to take some type of counteraction.

On 21 May 1950, the National Executive of the ANC convened an emergency meeting at Thaba Nchu. The leadership concluded that the

¹Carter, "African Nationalist Movements," in Southern Africa in Transition, ed. Davis and Baker, p. 6.

Unlawful Organisations Bill was "primarily directed against Africans and other oppressed peoples, and is designed to frustrate all their attempts to work for the fulfilment of their legitimate demands and aspirations."¹ It was resolved that a National Day of Protest and Mourning be held in the immediate future after consulting the other executives in the Congress Movement. By 10 June 1950, the joint leadership reached a consensus.² Those who had lost their lives in the May Day strikes would be publicly mourned and the "Bills" would be publicly protested by the multiracial Coalition.

Congressman Moroka, President General of the ANC; Congressman G. M. Naicker, President of the SAIC; Congressman S. M. Rahim, President of the APO; Congressman I. Horvitch, Chairman of the SACP, and Congressman G. S. Pitje, President of the ANCYL, proclaimed 26 June 1950 to be a National Day of Protest and Mourning.³ Predictably, the Congressmen appealed for popular support from all of the races who inhabited South Africa.⁴

During the week of 20 June 1950, the SACP officially withdrew from the National Day of Protest Coordinating Committee and the Coalition, and dissolved itself to forestall being declared an unlawful organisation by the Unlawful Organisation Bill which had, by this time, been recast as the Suppression of Communism Act, June 1950.⁵ Congressman Sam Kahn,

¹The Bantu World, 10 June 1950.

²"The Unlawful Organisation Bill-The Most Dangerous," African Lodestar, 2 June 1950, vol. 1, no. 2, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

³Report of the National Executive Committee of the 38th Annual Conference of the ANC, 15-17 December 1950, submitted by W. M. Sisulu, Secretary General of the ANC, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

⁴The Bantu World, 17 June 1950.

⁵Circular to Executives Regarding the Day of Protest, 26 June 1950, and Withdrawal of Communist Party from Sponsorship, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

Communist member of Parliament, read a prepared statement from the Central Committee of the SACP in the House of Assembly before the Bill was approved, sixty-four votes to forty-nine.¹ The Malan government had outlawed a wing of the multiracial political Coalition as predicted.

Later in the month, Congressman W. M. Sisulu, as a Joint Secretary of the National Day of Protest Co-ordinating Committee, articulated several of the grievances which the Alliance felt were most intolerable. He cited the Pass Laws, meager wages, terribly inadequate housing, the Group Areas Bill, insufficient educational facilities, the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Urban Areas Act, and the denial of the right to vote as glaring human rights infractions that were in dire need of democratic reform.² Additionally, a resolution was passed by the APO recommending the development of a united front of all races based on the principles of democracy, nonracial citizenship, and racial equality under law.³ The themes of individual freedoms, social justice, civil, political and human rights remained the central premise of the multiracial Coalition. The mobilisation of the masses remained its first priority.

Congressman Y. A. Cachalia, a staunch advocate of the Gandhian technique and the Joint Secretary of the National Day of Protest Co-ordinating Committee, expressed great satisfaction that the stay-at-home strike which took place as scheduled on 27 June 1950 was conducted peacefully.⁴ Major Grobler, District Commander of Police for the

¹"South Africa Reds Dissolve Just Ahead of Suppression," New York Times, 21 June 1950.

²Secretary General's Report on the National Day of Protest, 26 June 1950, Molema Papers, M842, ICSA.

³Ibid.

⁴Statement by the National Day of Protest Co-ordinating Committee, 26 June 1950, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 12, LC.

Witwatersrand, indicated on 21 June 1950, that "the police were organised and prepared to meet any emergency that may arise on Monday, June 26."¹ Fortunately, the police did not kill unarmed "inciters" on this occasion. However, in response to the political strike, the Department of Justice invoked the undemocratic Riotous Assemblies Act and banned all public gatherings. Nonetheless, the date 26 June 1950 was a major landmark in the development of the multiracial Coalition. The alliance of the Congresses had "officially" lost a longtime ally, but the SAIC, ANC, APO, and concerned whites had united in mass action to resist undemocratic legislation and demand reform. The basic organisational priority of the Congress Movement had been publicly proclaimed and demonstrated.

The Coalition's decision to cooperate across racial and ideological lines to defy South Africa's repressive and undemocratic race laws paralleled the Teheran Declaration of 1 December 1943, in which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' Premier Joseph V. Stalin, the United Kingdom's Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill, and the United States of America's President Franklin D. Roosevelt pledged cooperation for the sole purpose of destroying the racist Hitler regime. In both cases, men with different political and economic world views formed a coalition against Herrenvolkism, thus substantiating the age-old political adage that in a crisis, "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." This adage, of course, underscores the politics of coalition.

¹The Bantu World, 24 June 1950.

CHAPTER II

THE COALITION MOBILISES FOR DEFIANCE

The Herrenvolk policies instituted by the Nationalist regime sparked resistance from the people. Referring to these policies, Chief Albert J. Lutuli offered the following observations:

Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd have done an important part of our work for us. They have demonstrated unambiguously to the African people what it is that the Congress movement is pledged to resist. . . . By intensifying our experience of serfdom, they have given us a deeper thirst for freedom. ¹

The policy statements of the three Nationalist spokesmen made it abundantly clear that the Government's policy of apartheid was a systematic attempt to maintain white supremacy at all costs. For example, Johannes Gerhardus Strijdom candidly stated the Nationalist policy regarding civil, political and human rights for people of colour:

Our policy is that the Europeans must stand their ground and must remain baas in South Africa. If we reject the herrenvolk idea and the principle that the white man cannot remain baas, if the franchise is to be extended to the non-Europeans, and if the non-Europeans are given representation and the vote and the non-Europeans are developed on the same basis as the Europeans, how can the Europeans remain baas? . . . Our view is that in every sphere the Europeans must retain the right to rule the country and to keep it a white man's country. ²

Strijdom uttered this policy statement in 1948. Two years later, on 8 December 1950, he revealed the depth of the regime's total commitment

¹Lutuli, Let My People Go, p. 97.

²United Nations, General Assembly, 8th Session, 1953, Report

to herrenvolkism; "We say to the United Nations that we shall fight to the last drop of our blood to maintain white supremacy in South Africa."¹ This excessive commitment to the legal status quo was, to say the least, profound and dangerous. It did not contribute to racial peace. Dr. Malan, in a pre-election speech in 1948, explained why the social and political doctrine of apartheid was being relentlessly intensified:

Give the non-Europeans. . . education. . . give them the same social security which we give to the Europeans; give them the right to organise in the field of labour. . . give them trade union organisations which enable a working class to enforce their will in several respects by means of strikes. . . give them political equality . . . and then. . . the non-Europeans will govern the country and the European will have to leave it. 2

The liberal ideal of nonracial citizenship and human rights was dismissed as was the principle of equality under law. In 1950, Dr. Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, the Alfred Rosenberg of South Africa, though not as crude as Malan and Strijdom in his tone, argued as stringently for separate development:

As a premise, the question may be put: Must Bantu and European in future, develop as intermixed communities, or as communities separated from one another in so far as this is practically possible? . . . The only possible way out is the second alternative, namely, that both adopt a development divorced from each other. That is all that the word apartheid means. 3

From the policy statements of Verwoerd, Malan and Strijdom, it is clear that South Africa's traditional patterns of racism were heightened significantly by the Nationalist Party into a tragic socio-political

of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement No. 16 (Documents A/2505, A/2505/Addendum 1) p. 124.

¹Ibid., p. 125.

²Ibid., p. 124.

³Ibid., p. 150.

system and an ideology by design. Separate development and apartheid were merely code phrases for continued domination of South African society by the white minority, and in particular, the Afrikaan-speaking political leadership. As a result of Government policy, Africans, Indians, and Coloureds were legally locked out of participation in deciding national policies; hence, their human rights were violated by the State. The status quo of legal social inequality, as Lutuli indicated, stimulated a counter-attack from the Congress Movement.

By late September 1950, the Coalition had begun to forcefully articulate its alternative policy of egalitarianism and multiracial cooperation. Congressmen J. S. Moroka, President General of the ANC, opened the annual conference of the SAIC. The major theme of Moroka's opening address was the vital importance of multiracial cooperation if the human rights struggle was to be brought to a successful conclusion.¹ Concerted political action for democratic reforms and an uncompromising demand for equality and political rights characterised Congress strategy during this period. Two weeks after Moroka's policy statement, Senator E. H. Brookes, (M.P.), addressed the NIC on 30 September 1950. In his opening remarks, Brooks argued that it was clearly in the best interest of all racial groups that the "doctrine" of multiracial cooperation continue to be advocated by people of goodwill in South Africa.² Congressman Naicker, speaking after the "liberal"

¹Minutes of the NIC, 4th Annual Provincial Conference, Durban, 30 September-1 October 1950, ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA.

²Ibid., "Opening Address," by Senator E. H. Brookes, (M.P.).

Senator Brooks, reinforced the theme of multiracial political cooperation in his presidential address. Additionally, he called upon Whites, Coloureds, Africans, and Indians to resist the Group Areas Act, oppose legal social inequality, and cooperate for progressive socio-political change and human rights.¹

On 4 December 1950, the egalitarian concept of equal allocation of human rights was provided greater impetus by a UN resolution. The Commission on Human Rights, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 217 (III), invited Member States to submit their perspectives regarding the Draft International Covenant on Human Rights by 15 February 1951. Several provisions of this document clashed violently with the South African government's reactionary policy of separate development while reinforcing the purposes and policies of the Coalition. For example, the Commission on Human Rights considered it essential that the revised Draft Covenant include the following:

Provisions rendering it obligatory for States to promote the implementation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the Covenant and to take the necessary steps, including legislation, to guarantee to everyone the real opportunity of enjoying those rights and freedoms. ²

By sharp contrast, the South African lawmakers continued to engage in passing undemocratic laws that clearly deprived Africans, Asians, Coloureds, and Europeans of their fundamental human rights. For

¹ Minutes of the NIC, 4th Annual Provincial Conference, "Presidential Address of Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the SAIC and NIC, ANC Papers, M856, ICOSA.

² United Nations, General Assembly, 5th Session, 4 December 1950,

example, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, 1949; the Group Areas Act, 1950; the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950; the Bantu Authorities Act, 1951, and the Separate Representation of Voters Bill, 1951, deprived people of all races of their freedoms and rights.

In February 1951, Congressmen Moroka, Dadoo, and Rahim, presidents of the ANC, SAIC, and the APO, respectively, addressed the issue of political and civil rights at the nascent Franchise Action Council. Political activists in the Coloured community had rapidly convened this conference to respond to the undemocratic terms of the recently introduced Separate Representation of Voters Bill. As had happened to the Africans in 1936 and the Indians in 1946, the Coloureds were also to be removed from the common voters' rolls. Thus, all of the people of colour would be deprived of their civil and political rights, and denied direct input into the laws that governed their lives.

To publicly demonstrate its joint opposition to the Bill, the Coalition organised a mass demonstration and political strike to occur in Cape Town, 11 March 1951. This political action was repeated in Port Elizabeth, 7 May. In his assessment of these events, Leo Kuper determined that the political protests were conducted in orderly fashion.¹

"Draft International Covenant on Human Rights and Measures of Implementation: Future Work of the Commission on Human Rights."

¹ Leo Kuper, Passive Resistance in South Africa (London, 1956), p. 99; Kuper, "African Nationalism in South Africa 1910-1964," in Oxford History, vol. 2, ed. Wilson and Thompson, pp. 424-476.

Nonetheless, in June 1951, the Separate Representation of Voters Bill was enacted. A five year court battle over the constitutional legality of the Bill ensued, culminating in 1956, with the removal of Coloured voters from South Africa's common voters roll. As the UN was encouraging egalitarian reforms and human rights, the Nationalist Party was expanding its political base and intensifying its programme of separate development. The attempt was under way to control the pace of socio-political change by means of a barrage of repressive legislation.¹

Reacting to the unequal status of their national groups under law, Africans, Coloureds, and Indians continued their policy of cooperating with committed Whites who declared acceptance of the principles of human rights, nonracial citizenship, equality under law, and peaceful social change.

The Peace Movement, the fifth wing of the Congress Alliance began to coalesce at this time. The Transvaal Peace Council (TPC), a body composed of members of all races who opposed nuclear warfare, was organised on 28 April 1951, in Johannesburg. The Transvaal branches of the ANC, APO, and the TIC jointly participated in this inaugural conference. Congressman Yusuf A. Cachalia, Secretary of the SAIC, Congressman Michael Harmel, former Secretary of the SACP-Johannesburg, Rev. D. C. Thompson, a Methodist cleric and Chairman of the South African Society for Peace and Friendship with

¹Karis, "Moving Toward Defiance," in Hope and Challenge 1935-1952, ed. Karis and Carter, pp. 410-411.

the Soviet Union (SASPFWSU), and Congressman S. M. Molema, Treasurer General of the ANC, addressed the assembly. These speakers, as did others who spoke, advocated peaceful social change.¹

Expansion of the process of multiracial political action continued. For instance, on 29 July 1951, Africans, Indians, and Coloureds again convened a joint conference in Johannesburg to discuss and coordinate a strategy to combat legal racial discrimination in South Africa. This session had been called by the National Executive of the ANC. At this time, representatives, observers and national leaders of the Coalition presented their views on egalitarianism and reached a consensus that the racial policies and racial laws implemented by the reactionary Nationalist Party were unjust and an irrefutable violation of human rights. The leadership of the Congress Movement agreed upon a "common programme of action" based upon the Gandhian protest techniques developed in South Africa during the opening decades of the twentieth century and utilised and sanctioned elsewhere throughout the world.² However, the use of civil disobedience by the Coalition was a strategic and tactical decision, not a matter of Satyagraha (conscience).³

A Joint Planning Council consisting of five Congressmen was authorised by the Conference. Through their national political organisations,

¹Report of the 1st Transvaal Peace Conference, 28-29 April 1951, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

²Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action (Boston, 1973); and Staughton Lynd, Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History (New York, 1966).

³Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa.

African, Coloured, and Asian rank-and-file empowered Congressmen J. S. Moroka, Y. M. Dadoo, J. B. Marks, Y. A. Cachalia and W. M. Sisulu to coordinate proposals and other recommendations for a jointly sponsored programme of action. The decision was vitally important because it was the first time in the history of the Congress Movement that a Joint Planning Council, representing all races and all active wings of the Coalition, had authority as a committee to develop long-term tactics and to coordinate a strategy to redress the long-standing grievances of the people of colour.

The report of the Joint Planning Council (JPC) was filed on 8 November 1951. It recommended that a sustained civil disobedience campaign against certain unjust discriminatory laws be undertaken. ¹ This political decision marked the third stage in the development of the multiracial political Coalition. Singled out specifically were the provisions concerning stock limitations, Pass Laws, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, and the Separate Representation of Voters Act. ² The JPC's proposal was adopted by the ANC in Bloemfontein, 15-17 December 1951. Congressman J. S. Moroka, underscoring the consensus of the Coalition and setting the tone of resistance, stated that, "From the government of South Africa,

¹ Statement issued at a press conference regarding the Defiance Campaign by the ANC, 14 December 1951, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC

² Ibid.

we ask for nothing that is revolutionary. If what we ask for is communistic, then communism is humane and Christian."¹ Shortly thereafter, the SAIC met in Johannesburg from 25-27 January 1952, to adopt the proposal of the JPC.² In April, the Franchise Action Council pledged its support for the proposal at their conference held in Cape Town.³ Here again, the multiracial Coalition demonstrated effective interracial solidarity in the common human rights struggle.

In keeping with the directive of the JPC and a resolution adopted by the ANC at its thirty-ninth session, Congressmen Moroka, President General, and Walter Sisulu, Secretary General, issued Prime Minister D. F. Malan a written ultimatum dated 21 January 1952, which stated, in part:

The Government through its repressive policy of trusteeship, segregation and apartheid and through legislation that continues to insult and degrade the African people by depriving them of fundamental human rights enjoyed in all democratic communities, have categorically rejected our offer of cooperation. The consequence has been the gradual worsening of the social, economic and political position of the African people and a rising tide of racial bitterness and tension. . . . After serious and careful consideration of the matter, the Conference unanimously resolved to call upon your Government, as we hereby do, to repeal the aforementioned Acts, by not later than the 29th day of February 1952, failing which the African National Congress will hold protest meetings and demonstrations on the 6th day of April 1952, as a prelude to the implementation of the plan for the defiance of

¹ Minutes of the ANC, 39th Annual Conference, "Presidential Address of the President General of the ANC," Dr. J. S. Moroka, 15-17 December 1951, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

² Resolution adopted at the SAIC, 20th Annual Conference, 25-27 January 1952, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

³ W. M. Sisulu, Secretary General of the ANC to the ANC Branches, 19 September 1952, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

unjust laws. . . . The struggle which our people are about to begin is not directed against any race or national group but against the unjust laws which keep in perpetual subjection and misery vast sections of the population. 1

Replying to this ultimatum on 29 January 1952, Prime Minister Malan established the reactionary posture of the racist State:

It should be understood clearly that the Government will under no circumstances entertain the idea of giving administrative or executive or legislative powers over Europeans, or within an European community, to Bantu men and women, or to other smaller non-European groups. The Government therefore, has no intention of repealing the long existing laws differentiating between European and Bantu.

You demand that the Union should no longer remain a State controlled by the Europeans who developed it to the advantage of all groups of the population. You demand that it should be placed under the jurisdiction of the Bantu, Indian, and other non-European groups together with Europeans without any distinction whatsoever, and with no restrictions on the possible gradual development of a completely mixed community. Nevertheless you apparently wish to create the impression that such demands should be regarded as a generous gesture of goodwill towards the European community of this country. It is quite clear that the very opposite is true. This is not a genuine offer of cooperation, but an attempt to embark on the first steps towards supplanting European rule in the course of time. 2

Prime Minister Malan had rightly concluded that the removal of legal social inequality would radically alter the status quo. Congressman Y. M. Dadoo, President of the SAIC, arguing from a different perspective,

¹ J. S. Moroka, President General, and W. M. Sisulu, Secretary General of the ANC, to the Honourable Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, Cape Town, 21 January 1952, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

The 6th April 1952 was selected because it was the tercentenary celebrations of Van Riebeeck's landing at the Cape of Good Hope. See Kuper, Passive Resistance in South Africa, p. 100, for further discussion of the historical importance of this date.

² The Honourable Prime Minister of South Africa, Cape Town, to J. S. Moroka and W. M. Sisulu, 29 January 1952, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

arrived at the same conclusion. He and the Prime Minister understood that the repeal of apartheid laws would threaten "the European monopoly of commerce, trade and certain professions."¹ Obviously, if full civil, political and human rights were the properties of Africans, Asians, Coloureds, and Europeans, alike, white supremacy could not remain the status quo. The egalitarian reforms demanded by the Coalition would clearly compromise institutionalised racialism. A democratic government based upon the nonracial tenet of majority rule and consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was clearly inconsistent with the social policy of herrenvolkism advocated by the Nationalist Party.

The National Executive of the ANC reacted to Prime Minister Malan's refutation of a nonracial democracy at a special conference held on 10 February 1952.² It was resolved at this meeting that Congressmen Moroka and Sisulu would post a second letter to the Prime Minister. This was carried out on 11 February 1952. Again, the theme of the letter was democratic reforms and egalitarianism. The tone of this letter was somewhat sharper than the first:

The question at issue is not one of biological differences, but one of citizenship rights which are granted in full measure to one section of the population, and completely denied to the

¹"Onward to Freedom: A Call to the People of South Africa," by Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of SAIC, and Dr. S. M. Molema, Treasurer General of the ANC, delivered at the SAIC, 20th Annual Conference, 25-27 January 1952, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

²Minutes of the National Executive Meeting of the ANC, 10 February 1952, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

other by means of man-made laws artificially imposed, not to preserve the identity of Europeans as a separate community, but to perpetuate the systematic exploitation of the African people. . . . It is observed that your Government rejects out of hand our claim for direct representation in Parliament and other Councils of State. This is the kernel of the policy of apartheid which is condemned not only by the African, Indian, and Coloured people, but also by a large section of White South Africa. It is precisely because of this policy that South Africa is losing caste in international circles. . . . In reiterating our claim for direct representation, we desire to place on record our firm determination to redouble our efforts for the attainment of full citizenship rights. ¹

On 20 February 1952, Congressmen Y. M. Dadoo, President of the SAIC, and Y. A. Cachalia, Secretary, informed the Malan government of its intention to reinforce the political decision initiated by the ANC. The SAIC stated its case for nonracial democracy forcefully to the State:

The policy of apartheid is anti-democratic, reactionary and contrary to the laws of natural development of history and can only be imposed by means of Fascist tyranny and unrestrained dictatorship. Indeed, not only have the non-European people become the victims of this policy but it has also encroached upon the rights and liberties of the European people as evidenced by State interference with the freedom of individuals to travel abroad, with the freedom of the right of parents regarding their children's education, with the freedom of the Press and with the freedom of trade unions to conduct their own affairs. . . .

It was in this rapidly deteriorating situation that the Conference of the African National Congress resolved to adopt a plan of action. . . . This plan of action was endorsed by the Conference of the South African Indian Congress which met in Johannesburg on 25th, 26th and 27th January 1952. In terms of this decision we have been instructed to convey to you the full support of the South African Indian Congress to the call made upon your Government by the African National Congress for the repeal of the above mentioned Acts, failing which the South African Indian Congress

¹ J. S. Moroka, President General of the ANC, and W. M. Sisulu, Treasurer General of the ANC, to the Honourable Prime Minister on South Africa, 11 February 1952, Molema Papers, M842, ICOSA.

will participate with the African National Congress in holding protest meetings and demonstrations on the 6th day of April 1952 as a prelude to the implementation of the Plan for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. ¹

Multiracial mass civil disobedience was at hand. As determined by the nonviolent Coalition, the "People's Protest Day" occurred on 6 April 1952. Mass prayer meetings, demonstrations and church services were held in all of South Africa's provinces. The people were asked to conduct a peaceful, nonviolent and disciplined struggle in their attempt to gain fundamental civil, political, economic and human rights. Posters citing the many grievances shared by the vast majority of South Africa's people of colour were conspicuously displayed in the most heavily travelled public places. A typical poster read:

Today our people are suffering as never before under this Nationalist Government of Dr. Malan with its policy of Apartheid. Under high prices and low wages, we are starving, our cattle are being taken away. We are homeless or if we have homes, "Group Areas" threaten to drive us from them.

Everyday we are jailed and sent to farm slavery for passes - and now women and children are faced with the pass system too. We are insulted and bullied because of our colour. Under the Coloured Voters Act, the Anti-Communist Law, the Bantu Authorities Act, South Africa is being made a fascist state. . . . We demand the right to live as human beings. We want an end to all laws that discriminate against us. We want the right to vote, to choose for ourselves who will make and administer the laws we live under. We demand Trade Union rights and freedom of organisation. ²

¹United Nations, General Assembly, 8th Session, 1953, Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement No. 16 (Document A/2505 & A/2505/Addendum 1), p. 19.

²"April 6: People's Protest Day," poster, Molema Papers, M842, ICSA.

Grievances, as the aforementioned, were aired at mass protest meetings throughout South Africa against the Pass Laws, Provisions Concerning Stock Limitation, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Authorities, and the Separate Representation of Voters Act. Africans, Coloureds, Indians, and a few Whites attended these mass protest meetings. The heaviest concentration of meetings occurred in Port Elizabeth, East London, Cape Town, Kimberley and Mafeking. Second to the Cape Province in participation was the Transvaal, namely, Pretoria, Bethal, and Johannesburg. Natal and the Orange Free State were the areas of lowest participation.¹ This direct expression of multiracial opposition to South Africa's unjust laws coincided with the Tercentary Celebrations decreed by the Malan government. As the White population of South Africa was glorifying their three hundred years of occupation and racial oppression around the exclusive theme, "We Build a Nation," people of colour were mounting a struggle for liberty, democracy, equality, and the elimination of racial exploitation. Interracial political cooperation to resist unjust laws that violated the human rights of Africans, Asians, Coloureds, and Europeans began on 26 June 1952 as scheduled. The people marched into the streets under the directive of the Coalition.²

¹ "ANC Bulletin, No. 1, April 1952: Demonstrations Throughout South Africa on April 6," Molema Papers, M842, ICSA.

² The focus of this chapter was not the Defiance Campaign, per se. For a very comprehensive study of the Natal campaign, see Kuper,

Multiracial political opposition to the Government's discriminatory legislation as evidenced by the Defiance Campaign marked the fourth stage in the political development of the Congress Alliance.

Passive Resistance in South Africa. See also David Carter, "The Defiance Campaign - A Comparative Analysis of the Organisation, Leadership, and Participation in the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal," in Institute of Commonwealth Studies Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries, October 1970-June 1971 (London, 1971), pp. 76-97; and George Houser, Non-Violent Revolution in South Africa (New York, 1953).

CHAPTER III

REPERCUSSIONS OF DEFIANCE

After an auspicious beginning of mass protest meetings, the highly disciplined cadre of volunteers embarked upon their nonviolent struggle for freedom. Their primary target was the colour line (Europeans Only) in public services. The attack was directed specifically against post offices, railway stations, and public transportation; all were facilities that were both separate and unequal. The Defiance Campaign quickly became a confrontation between the nonviolent demonstrators and the South African legal force; fifty-four Africans, Coloureds, and Indians were arrested in Johannesburg for defying the colour line in public places. At Boksburg, fifty-two others were forced to appear before a magistrate's court.¹ Arrests continued in Worcester, Cape Province, where demonstrators occupied railway benches strictly reserved for Whites. Another 200 persons were arrested at Port Elizabeth and charged with similar offenses.² In East London, Cape Province, 302 African volunteers were arrested for refusing to produce night passes to the police.³

The Government did not restrict its legal reaction to the rank-and-file. The leadership of the Coalition was also arrested: Congressmen

¹"South African Natives Accused," Times (London) 12 July 1952.

²"More Natives Arrested in South Africa," Times (London), 14 July 1952.

³"Africans Volunteer for Arrest," Times (London), 29 July 1952.

Y. M. Dadoo, President of the SAIC; J. B. Marks, President of the ANC-Transvaal; David Bopape, Secretary of the ANC-Transvaal;¹ W. M. Sisulu, Secretary General of the ANC; Nana Sita, President of the TIC;² Nelson R. Mandela, President of the ANCYL and Volunteer-in-Chief of the Defiance Campaign; Ismail Ahmed Cachalia, Deputy Volunteer-in-Chief of the Defiance Campaign and executive officer of both the TIC and the SAIC;³ and Moses Kotane, executive officer of the ANC.⁴ Intensifying the legal process, the police raided the homes and offices of leading Congressmen on 30 July 1952. The headquarters of the SAIC, ANC, and the Franchise Action Council were searched for documents relating to the civil disobedience campaign and evidence of treason.⁵

The pattern of mass arrests continued. In East London, seventy-nine persons, mostly females, were taken into custody on 7 August 1952.⁶ Police in Johannesburg arrested Congressmen Dadoo, Yusuf Cachalia, and N. Thandray under the Suppression of Communism Act on 12 August 1952.⁷

¹"Dr. Dadoo Sentenced," Times (London), 17 July 1952.

²"50 Sentenced for Defying Laws," Times (London), 22 July 1952.

³"Telegram to Dr. S. M. Molema, 10 July 1952," Molema Papers, M856, ICSA.

⁴"Former Union Leader Sentenced," Times (London), 16 July 1952.

⁵"Civic Disobedience in South Africa," Times (London), 31 July 1952.

⁶"Passive Resistance in South Africa," Times (London), 8 August 1952.

⁷"Indians Arrested in Johannesburg," Times (London), 13 August 1952.

The following day, an article in the Times of London summarised the three stages of South Africa's anti-communist policy:

(Stage one): The first persons were named by the liquidator last September 1951, under the Suppression of Communism Act. The second stage was taken in May (1952) when the Minister of Justice issued orders for prohibition and restriction of movement against certain persons with a view to stopping their active participation in public affairs. The third stage now reached, is that in which investigations by special branch police give grounds for bringing prosecution against persons alleged to be active in furthering Communism. ¹

Congressman J. S. Moroka, President General of the ANC, was charged under the Suppression of Communism Act on 14 August 1952.² Further arrests occurred on 15 August 1952; Congressmen David Bopape, a former teacher and Secretary of the ANC-Transvaal, and Nana Sita, an advocator of Gandhism and the President of the TIC, were also charged under the Suppression of Communism Act.³ During the third stage of the Nationalist government's anti-communist policy, twenty national leaders of the Coalition had been charged under the "Red Act," and 2,263 persons had been arrested for defying the law between 26 June and 16 August 1952.⁴

Due to the internal unrest in South Africa during this period, the gold and foreign exchange reserves fell sharply by £ 7,500,000.⁵

¹ "Communism and the Law," Times (London), 14 August 1952.

² "African Congress Leader Arrested," Times (London), 15 August 1952.

³ "Further Arrests," Times (London) 16 August 1952.

⁴ "96 More Africans Arrested," Times (London), 18 August 1952.

⁵ "Fall in South African Gold Reserves," Times (London), 4 July 1952.

By 15 July 1952, the South African government felt it necessary to establish a defense equipment fund of approximately L 12, 500, 000 with a projected increase to L 40 million. Orders for the latest weapons were placed in Great Britain and the United States.¹ Moreover, South Africa stepped up its armaments procurement and production programme. The Birmingham Small Arms Company in the United Kingdom agreed to provide South Africans with the required technical skills to build a new weapons factory in South Africa. The factory was expected to manufacture American anti-tank weapons, British rifles, machine gun barrels, and air-to-ground rockets.²

Not only was there an arms build-up in this period, there was also a marked increase in capital investments. The Finance Minister, N. C. Havenga, visited the United States in September 1952. He wished to negotiate a loan from the International Bank, estimated at \$60 million to \$80 million, to expand electric power and railway construction. The complete financial needs of the country were estimated at L 200 million annually for half a decade.³ In the export sector, uranium production began in October 1952 (at the height of the Defiance Campaign). Twenty-two plants were slated for development. J. H. Viljoen, Minister of Mines, stated, "That when fully developed, uranium would

¹"South Africa Buying Latest Weapons (Orders Placed in Britain)," Times (London), 16 July 1952.

²"New Arms Factory for South Africa," Times (London), 19 August 1952.

³"South African Capital Needs," Times (London), 20 September 1952.

mean as much for the country as gold production."¹ The latter was experiencing a modest price increase during this period.² The South African Atomic Energy Board would develop and export the majority of the uranium in partnership with the British Ministry of Supply and the United States Atomic Energy Commission.³ By the fall of 1952, it was obvious that social unrest had not stopped the ebb and flow of commerce and finance. The civil disobedience campaign had little lasting economic impact.

Politically, the authoritarian Government's commitment to firm, uncompromising police action to end the racial conflict was undeterred by the defiers' apparent willingness to pay fines and to endure canings, and imprisonment. The Minister of Labour, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, promised to "stamp the movement out," while the Minister of Justice, C. R. Swart, summarily dismissed the legitimacy of the nonviolent Coalition's claims. "We cannot," he stated, "deal with people who are busy breaking the law."⁴ Moreover, Swart pledged to purge the Trade Unions of their communist elements.⁵ Refusing to support the Government's rigid racial policy, twenty-two white South Africans,

¹"Uranium from South Africa," Times (London), 9 October 1952.

²"Mr. Havenga on Higher Price for Gold," Times (London), 3 October 1952.

³"Dr. Malan's Campaign," Times (London), 30 September 1952.

⁴"Closed Door in South Africa," Times (London), 11 September 1952.

⁵"South Africa to Purge Unions," Times (London), 25 September 1952.

in late September 1952, proposed a compromise which would extend equal rights to all "civilised people."¹ The idea of a qualified franchise had deep roots in the liberal tradition of the Cape Province.² It was inconsistent, however, with the current Coalition policy of full civil and political rights for all South Africans. Democracy is non-discriminatory and there cannot be a legal difference between "civilised" and "uncivilised" citizens. The logic behind the Government's refusal to grant democratic rights to Africans, Coloureds, and Indians was clear -- a multiracial democracy in South Africa would destroy the power, status and privileges which stemmed from white supremacy in all aspects of human relationships. On 1 September 1952, Dr. D. F. Malan re-emphasised the "life or death" necessity for white unity in the face of growing demands from the non-whites for citizenship rights.³ Mr. H. H. H. Biermann, Director of Information at South Africa House, London, reiterated this theme. The Defiance Campaign, he argued, was "against the traditional social structure. . . in its entirety and is aimed at destroying the whole system of delicate balances governing relations between racial groups at varying levels of development."⁴ Viewed from the

¹"Equal Rights for All Civilized People: A Statement by Some South African Citizens," Johannesburg, Margaret Ballinger, September 1952, CKC, Reel 9A, CRL.

² Janet Robertson, Liberalism in South Africa 1948-1963 (London, 1971).

³"Dr. Malan's Call for Unity," Times (London), 2 September 1952.

⁴"Undignified Attack on Dr. Malan (Reply to Canon Collins)," Times (London), 9 September 1952.

position of the privileged race and class, Malan's and Biermann's assessment of the situation was predictable. However, their argument for legal racial discrimination lacked a healthy moral basis.

The Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Canon L. John Collins, took the following position:

The whole evil fabric of racial discrimination, wherever it exists, was a clear challenge to the Christian way of life, and it demanded from each of us Christian action to destroy it. ¹

On 12 September 1952, Canon Collins expanded his Christian ethic argument:

Christians must not allow the Communist bogey to hinder them from following the dictates of their conscience in this matter of race relations. In fact it is a policy based on race prejudice which may well drive the whole of the African continent towards Communism. ²

Canon Collins held the opinion that Christians should fully support the efforts of the oppressed peoples of South Africa 'against' unjust laws and policies. ³ Apartheid was a negation of Christianity and humanity.

On the same day in New York, the permanent UNO representatives of Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Phillipines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen ⁴ addressed a

¹"Challenge of Racial Discrimination," Times (London), 2 September 1952.

²"Racial Policy in South Africa," Times (London), 12 September 1952.

³"Christians Urged to Oppose Race Policy," Times (London), 29 September 1952.

⁴Permanent representatives of Afghanistan - Sultan Ahmed;

correspondence to the Secretary General of the United Nations, which said in part:

The race conflict in the Union of South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the South African Government is creating a dangerous and explosive situation, which constitutes both a threat to international peace and a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Although Africa's importance in world affairs is increasing rapidly, many parts of that continent still remain subject to racial discrimination and exploitation. The founding of the United Nations and the acceptance by the Member States of the obligations embodied in the Charter have given to the peoples of these areas new hope and encouragement in their efforts to acquire basic human rights. But in direct opposition to the trend of world opinion, the policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa is designed to establish and to perpetuate every form of racial discrimination which must inevitably result in intense and bitter racial conflict. Apartheid, which is the declared objective of the Government of the Union of South Africa, implies a permanent white superiority over the non-Whites, who constitute the great majority of the Union's population. . . . Such a policy challenges all that the United Nations stands for and clearly violates the basic and fundamental objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Preamble and Article 1, paragraph 3 and Article 55c of the Charter proclaim universal respect for, and due observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. Under Article 56, all Members have pledged themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the United Nations for the achievement of these purposes.

Under resolution 103 (1), adopted unanimously by the General Assembly in 1946, the United Nations called on governments to put an end to racial persecution and discrimination. Resolution 217 (111) proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and Article 2 of the Declaration affirms the equal application of

Burma - Ba Mung, Liaison Officer to UN; Egypt - Fouad El-Pharaony, Acting permanent representative; India - Rajeshwar Dayal; Indonesia - L. N. Palar; Iran - A. G. Ardalan; Iraq - A Khalidy; Lebanon - Karim Azkoul, Acting permanent representative; Pakistan - Ahmed S. Bokhari; Phillippines - Carlos P. Romulo; Saudi Arabia - Asad Al-Faqih; Syria - Farid Zeineddine; and Yemen - A. Aboutaleb.

these rights without distinction as to colour, race or religion. Under resolution 395 (V), the United Nations held that the policy of apartheid was necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination and therefore called upon the South African Government not to implement or enforce the provisions of the Group Areas Act. These findings and this recommendation were repeated in resolution 511 (VI) adopted at the sixth session of the General Assembly.

Because they have been unable to secure redress by constitutional methods and because the South African Government has turned a deaf ear to the repeated appeals of the United Nations not to embark on a policy of racial discrimination, the non-Whites of the Union have been compelled to launch a completely non-violent resistance movement against the Government's unjust and inhuman racial policies. In their efforts to destroy this movement, the Government has so far arrested over 4,000 persons. Despite the non-violent character of the campaign, physical violence such as flogging is being used to suppress it. The South African Government's reaction to a movement of peaceful resistance against legislation which world opinion and the United Nations have repeatedly and emphatically condemned, is having wide repercussions. . . . A new tension is thus being created which is no less serious than others affecting world peace. ¹

This letter included a request for the establishment of a Commission to study the racial situation in South Africa. Clearly, the Defiance Campaign was responsible for this international reaction. As expected, Prime Minister Malan belittled the UN. Referring to it as a "hopeless failure," he recommended to the international body that they "should cease interfering in the Union's domestic affairs."² Because the racial policies of South Africa posed a threat to world peace and violated UN principles, racial discrimination transcended the sphere of normal

¹United Nations, General Assembly, 8th Session, 1953, Report of the United Nations Commission of the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa Supplement No. 16 (Document A/2505 and A/2505/Addendum 1), pp. 121-122.

²"Interference in South Africa," Times (London), 23 September 1952.

domestic jurisdiction. In an act of contempt, Dr. Malan elected not to send a minister to the October 1952 session of the UN General Assembly.¹ On 31 October 1952, in an open letter, Ahmed I. Bhoola, a 'radical' leader of the Natal Indian Youth Congress (NIYC), publicly thanked the Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, and his sister, Mrs. Shrimati Vyayalakshini, a leader of the Indian delegation to the UN, for championing the cause of Africans, Coloureds, and Indians before the "Bar of the World."²

In response to the earlier request of the thirteen UN representatives, the General Assembly established the UN Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa on 5 December 1952. At that time, the General Assembly adopted resolutions 616 A and B (VII). In resolution 616 A, the General Assembly established a Commission:

. . . consisting of three members, to study the racial situation in the Union of South Africa in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, with due regard to the provision of Article 2, paragraph 7, as well as the provisions of Article 1, paragraphs 2 and 3, Article 13, paragraph 1B, Article 55c, and Article 56 of the Charter, and the resolutions of the United Nations on racial persecution and discrimination, and to report its conclusions to the General Assembly at its eighth session.

In resolution 616B, the General Assembly declared

. . . that a multiracial society, harmony and respect for human rights and freedoms and the peaceful development of a unified community are best assured when patterns of legislation and practice are directed towards ensuring equality before the

¹ "African Attitude to UN Assembly, " Times (London), 6 October 1952.

² "An Open Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru, " Flash, 13 November 1952, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

law of all persons regardless of race, creed or colour, and when economic, social, cultural and political participation of all racial groups is on a basis of equality. 1

The South African government viewed the UN Commission as further evidence of "interference in the Union's domestic affairs." The South African Minister for Economic Affairs charged the UN and the Commission with "incitement." He accused Moscow of fostering unrest among the "Natives", abetted by "ultra liberals" in Great Britain and the United States, "socialists", and "misguided interfering clerics."² The civil disobedience campaign to force the repeal of discriminatory legislation ended in December 1952, shortly after the UN resolved to investigate racial discrimination in South Africa. Thirty-seven leaders of the Congress Coalition had been arrested; twenty had received suspended sentences; and thousands of the rank-and-file had been arrested and imprisoned.³

Africans, Coloureds, and Indians had proven their ability to cooperate, organise, and conduct a nonviolent resistance campaign. The official statistics cited the total arrests and centers of operation:

(1). Total arrests in the Campaign up to and including 10th December 1952 in 37 different centres of the Union... 8080.

¹United Nations, General Assembly, 8th Session, 1953, Report of the United Nations Commission of the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa Supplement No. 16, (Document A/2505 and A/2505/Addendum 1), "Resolution 616 A and B (VII) adopted by the General Assembly at its 401st Plenary meeting held on 5 December 1952", p. 120.

²"Slander Campaign Against South Africans, Mr. Louw Charges," Times (London), 17 December 1952.

³Robertson, Liberalism in South Africa 1948-1963, p. 150.

(2). Monthly figures for the number of volunteers who participated in the campaign:

June (5 days)	146
July	1,504
August	2,015
September	2,058
October/November	2,054
December (10 days)	303
	<u>8,080</u>

(3). Number of volunteers arrested in each centre:

I. Eastern Cape	5,719
II. Western Cape	423
III. Transvaal	1,411
IV. Natal	269
V. Free State	258
	<u>8,080</u>

(4). Centres of operations:

- I. Eastern Cape: Port Elizabeth, East London, Uitenhage, Queenstown, King Williamstown, Peddie, Grahamstown, Fort Beaufort, Alice, Jansenville, Port Alfred, Stutterheim, Craddock, Aliwal North, and Kirkwood.
- II. Western Cape: Mafeking, Kimberley, Cape Town, Paarl, Worcester, Ceres, Stellenbosch.
- III. Transvaal: Johannesburg, Springs, Brakpan, Boksburg, Benoni, Germiston, Rodespoort, Bethal, Krugersdorp, Pretoria, Witbank, Vereenigin.
- IV. Natal: Durban and Pinetown
- V. Free State: Bloemfontein. 1

The Defiance Campaign made it very clear to the South African government that the Congress Movement had the ability to organise and conduct a nationwide resistance campaign.

¹Report of the Defiance Campaign submitted by Debi Singh to the NIC, 6th Annual Provincial Conference, 21-22 February 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

To hamper and threaten the Coalition, Minister of Justice, C. R. Swart, introduced the Public Safety Bill and the Criminal Laws Amendment Bill in January 1953. The two Bills granted the Governor General the power to impose martial law and declare a state of emergency in the event of civil unrest. This punitive legislation prohibited the raising of funds for use in resisting or defying the law. It declared nonviolent political action unlawful and protesters could be fined or detained without due process. There was sharp criticism of the two Bills from the Congressmen at their mass public meetings and through official press statements and newsletters (Flash and Afrika). For example, Chief A. J. Lutuli, President General of the ANC as of December 1952, asserted that the Public Safety Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill "are an effort to stop the forward march of all the democratic forces in the land which presents a serious challenge to undemocratic policies and laws in our country."¹

On 14 February 1953, Dr. Dilizantaba Mji, a recent medical graduate of the University of Witwatersrand and executive officer of the ANC, addressed the annual conference of the ANC-Cape. In his remarks, the Congressman tendered the following observation:

The Defiance Campaign has also precipitated, from the white camp, into our ranks, genuine true democrats amongst

¹ NIC Agenda Book, 6th Annual Provincial Conference, Durban, 21-22 February 1953, "Let Us March Together to Freedom," Official Opening Address of Chief A. J. Lutuli, President General of the ANC, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

them. There is a small but growing number of white people, who, tired of paying lip-service to the struggle of the Africans, have come out courageously and associated themselves with the Defiance Campaign. ¹

The multiracial Coalition's official denunciation of violence as an instrument to effect social change and its call for nonracial democracy and the equal allocation of human rights was partially responsible for this modest influx of Europeans. Patrick Duncan, son of the former Governor General, Sir Patrick Duncan; the author Freda Troup, trade unionist Bettie du Toit, and a young law student named Albie Sachs were among the growing number of whites who supported the movement's call for democracy and human rights.

Continuing Mji's democratic theme in his presidential address, Dr. J. L. Z. Njongwe, the Acting President of the ANC-Cape, stated the principal political objectives of the movement:

The ANC is wedded to the ideal of democratic government, based on the broad will of the people. To us, the ideal of democracy is attainable. To postulate that the white man knows best, is to us, utter nonsense and wholly unacceptable. Democratic government means, to us, the attainment of full citizenship rights for all, irrespective of race, sex or creed. We reject as political dishonesty and hypocrisy any theory of apartheid, basskap or trusteeship or any other name by which our humiliation as a people, goes. In particular, we just reject the doctrines of the present government, which are an imitation of Hitlerite Fascism. ²

However, it was Chief A. J. Lutuli, President General of the ANC, who placed the struggle for democracy into its historic political perspective.

¹40th Annual Provincial Conference of ANC-Cape, "Opening Address," delivered by Dr. Dilizantaba Mji, 14 February 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

²Idem, "Presidential Address," delivered by Dr. J. L. Z. Njongwe, Acting President, 14 February 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

On 21 February Congressman Lutuli stated:

The history of the liberation of people from man's inhumanity to man has always been through a terrific struggle involving much sacrifice and suffering on the part of the oppressed and that, therefore, the oppressed in the Union can have no cause to believe that they can attain freedom otherwise. All over the world and through all ages, liberation has come that way. The coming into being of the great democracy of the United States of America came that way; the birth or rebirth of great and noble ideas and ideals in Europe such as the cry of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, etc., which formed the basis of our modern conception of civic rights were won for mankind by the sacrifice and suffering of those who intensely and devoutly believed in these concepts of human rights. ¹

Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the NIC, and an advocate of the Gandhian technique, reinforced Congressman Lutuli's argument:

On the international plane, we form part of the great movement for peace. We are totally against all aggressive war preparations which are against the interest of the colonially oppressed. . . . We welcome the world-wide support we have received from people who believe in freedom and we shall at all times extend our support, in whichever way possible to all peoples fighting oppression. ²

From the above, it is clear that the leadership fully comprehended that freedom, democracy and human rights would never be given to people of colour in South Africa without a struggle.

If non-whites harboured a doubt about the real cost of egalitarianism, whites proved quickly that collectively, they were unprepared to liberate the blacks. For example, the Skiet Commando, a predominantly

¹ 6th Annual Provincial Conference of the NIC, "Let Us March Together to Freedom," Official Opening Address of Chief A. J. Lutuli, President General of the ANC, 21-22 February 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

² Idem, Speech delivered by Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the NIC, 21-22 February 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

Afrikaner defense force unit formed a pistol club in Pretoria to train white women in the use of firearms. This club was formed on 19 February 1953. There was also in existence at this time a similar club formed in Bloemfontein in November 1952. The first woman to join the "self-defense club" in Bloemfontein was Mrs. J. J. Fouche, wife of the Governor General of the Orange Free State.¹

As the 1953 elections were drawing closer, Nationalist propagandists argued that organised violence might erupt in South Africa as was then the case in Kenya, if they were not returned to power. Prime Minister Malan, in a campaign speech given on 5 March 1953, inflamed the racial passions of the white electorate for his political ends as he stated, "Because of the new and dangerous situation that has arisen, the Government would ask the electorate for a renewed mandate for its apartheid policy. By that the Government would stand or fall."² Malan's "Black Peril" and "equality or apartheid" demagoguery made it obvious to the blacks that true democracy in South Africa would not be forthcoming if he had his way. The Nationalist leader also campaigned on the promise to strip the Supreme Court of Appeals of the Union of South Africa of "the power to pass on the constitutionality

¹"South Africa Club to Train White Women in Shooting," New York Times, 20 February 1953.

²United Nations, General Assembly, 8th Session, 1953, Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement No. 16 (Document A/2505 and A/2505/Addendum 1), Annex V, p. 141.

of the laws passed by Parliament."¹ The Malan government had illegally established a High Court of Parliament "to overrule the constitutional functions of the Supreme Court of Appeals and, in effect, do away with the constitutional form of government in South Africa and replace it with the complete sovereignty of Parliament."²

Earlier, the Supreme Court had ruled in favour of Coloureds and Africans in two of South Africa's most important civil liberty cases of the Malan period. In the first case, the High Tribunal ruled against the Government's undemocratic attempt to remove the Coloured voters from the common voters' roll. Under the Constitution, the entrenched provisions were designed to safeguard the political rights of the enfranchised non-whites. The verdict was delivered on 13 November 1952, by Chief Justice A. van de Sandt Centlivres who spoke for the Appeal Court, "Parliament cannot by giving itself the name of a court of law come to any decision which will have the effect of destroying the entrenched provisions of the Constitution."³ The second case concerned George Lusu's defiance of unjust laws. Lusu was arrested after he refused to vacate a "white only" waiting room at a Cape Town railway station. Chief Justice Centlivres, in rendering the decision

¹"Malan Wins Power Over South Africa for Five Years More," New York Times, 17 April 1953.

²"South Africa Court Backs Natives on Equal Facilities with Whites," New York Times, 24 March 1953.

³"Top Tribunal Voids Parliament Court Created by Malan," New York Times, 14 November 1952.

against the Government, declared "that the Act of 1916 giving the railways racial segregation powers did not intend that members of different races were to be treated with a substantial degree of partiality and inequality."¹

On 30 March 1953, the UN Commission of the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, began its investigation. South Africa's undemocratic policy of institutionalised and legalised racial inequality represented one of the most glaring and pervasive human rights abuses. On the eve of the general elections, 15 April 1953, Dr. Malan continued his counter attack on egalitarianism. He charged that the "United Nations, Communist Russia, semi-Communist India, and the British Labour Party. . ." were attempting to force racial equality on white South Africa.² Malan's political policy decisions after the Defiance Campaign substantially raised the price of freedom for non-whites.

¹ "South Africa Court Backs Natives on Equal Facilities with Whites," New York Times, 24 March 1953.

² United Nations, General Assembly, 8th Session, 1953, Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement No. 16 (Document A/2505 and A/2505/Addendum 1), Annex V, p. 142.

CHAPTER IV

THE COALITION RECEIVES REINFORCEMENTS

As was previously stated, the Transvaal Peace Council (TPC) was organised on 28 April 1951 in Johannesburg. Its denunciation of violence as a legitimate instrument to effect social change and more particularly, its sharp objections to the Government's use of deadly force during the Defiance Campaign, contributed to the development of a nationwide peace movement. In June 1953, the Joint Secretaries of the TIC, I. A. Cachalia and N. Thandray, speaking for their Congress, pledged to support the TPC's proposal to form a national peace movement in South Africa, the South African Peace Council (SAPC).¹ Moreover, the NIYC, at their annual general meeting held on 7 June 1953, had also resolved to uphold the proposal.² Equally important at this time were the efforts of other European organisations to ally themselves with the Congress Coalition: the Springbok Legion of Ex-Servicemen and Women, the Democratic League of the Cape, and the Congress of Democrats of Transvaal set into motion the mechanism to form a second national organisation, the South African Congress of Democrats (SACOD).³

¹I. A. Cachalia and N. Thandray, Joint Secretaries of the TIC, to the Secretary of the TPC, 9 June 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

²General Secretary of the NIYC, to the Secretary of the SAPC, 13 June 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

³Letter from Jack Hodgson, National Secretary of the Springbok Legion, 15 June 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

In Durban, on 12 July 1953, the Natal Peace Council (NPC) was formed. The Congress Alliance was committed to employing peaceful methods for solving human problems and of course, welcomed this new organisation. President General of the ANC, Chief A. J. Lutuli in a written message to the NPC Conference, pledged "to devote (his) life to this cause of freedom and peace."¹ Congressman G. M. Naicker, President of the NIC, in his message of support, asserted that "those who believe in peace . . . must realise that colour discrimination. . . has within it the seeds of a global conflict."² On 18 July 1953, the Secretary of the TPC, Hilda Watts, informed the World Peace Council (WPC) of the formation of the Natal Peace Council and of the affiliation of Congressmen A. J. Lutuli and G. M. Naicker with the national peace movement.³

Continuing the Coalition's theme of peaceful race relations, the Afrikaner Chairman of the Congress of Democrats-Transvaal, Abram Fischer, and the Chairman of the Springbok Legion, C. G. Williams, made the following observation:

The Nationalists intend to meet Non-European demands (for citizenship rights) with forcible repression to close off the few channels of peaceful protest which still remain to the

¹ Natal Provincial Conference on "Peace," Messages from A. J. Lutuli, President General of the ANC, and Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the NIC, 12 July 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 17, LC.

² Ibid.

³ Hilda Watts, Secretary of the TPC, to the Secretariat of the World Peace Council, Prague, 18 July 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

Non-Europeans. Trusting recklessly in the strength of their army and police. . . .¹

The Springbok Legion held the view that if Europeans did not participate fully in the political process to peacefully expand the base of democracy to include all the people, there could be no racial peace in South Africa.² In the opening weeks of August 1953, the UN's Commission received private testimony on the racial crisis in South Africa from the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats-Transvaal, and the Springbok Legion of Ex-Servicemen and Women.³

On 15 August 1953, in his presidential address to the ANC-Cape, Congressman Z. K. Matthews indicated that the public interest would be best served when each racial group was free to express its views and participate in the decision-making process. The Nationalist government's policy of denying Africans, Coloureds, and Indians their legitimate rights was unprofitable. Professor Matthews also expressed concern over the Government's plan to transfer African education to the Department of Native Affairs. However, his most important observation dealt with freedom and democracy. He stated:

¹Letter from A. Fischer, Chairman of the Congress of Democrats, and C. G. Williams, Chairman of the Springbok Legion, 16 July 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

²Ibid.

³United Nations, General Assembly, 8th Session, 1953, Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement No. 16 (Document A/2505 and A/2505/Addendum 1), p. 8.

I wonder whether the time has not come for the ANC to consider the question of convening a National Convention, A Congress of the People, representing all the people of this country irrespective of race or colour to draw up a Freedom Charter for the Democratic South Africa of the Future. ¹

Congressman Matthew's proposition did not represent a communist plot as the unjust State would later claim. The Chartist movement provided the Congress movement with the process model in this instance. It is recalled that the Chartist movement of Great Britain convened a National Convention, drafted a People's Charter, called for democracy, civil, political and economic rights, used Moral Force, and sought to get millions to sign their petition in the 1830's. The parallels between the two mass movements are indeed striking.

On 22 August 1953, Africans, Coloureds, Indians, and Europeans met in Johannesburg to open the first meeting of the South African Peace Congress, the fifth wing of the Congress Movement. The Provincial Peace Councils, the South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union (SASPFSU), and the World Peace Council provided a model for the new organisation. There was direct linkage between the World Peace Movement on the one hand, and the Congress Coalition, on the other. The constitution of the SAPC stressed multi-racial cooperation in the pursuit of national and international peace. ²

The President-elect of the nascent SAPC was the Rev. D. C. Thompson, Chairman of the SASPFSU. Congressman A. J. Lutuli was one of the six Vice Presidents elected to office by the delegation. The Vice President's role was largely ceremonial; it did, however, provide an

¹ Minutes of the 42nd Annual Provincial Conference of the ANC-Cape, "Presidential Address," by Professor Z. K. Matthews, President of the ANC-Cape, 15 August 1953, CKC, Reel 2B, CRL.

² Constitution of the SAPC, 22-23 August 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

excellent means whereby the various organisations of the Congress Coalition could coordinate and shape policy.¹ The tempo of the Conference was set by four speeches. Ruth First, a political activist and an effective spokesman for egalitarianism, asserted that the Peace Movement must be open to Europeans and Non-Europeans alike, political ideology notwithstanding.² Hilda Watts, Secretary of the TPC, stressed the need for all South Africans, irrespective of race, to join hands in a mass movement against war.³ Speaking on the topic of "African Colonialism and War," Congressman Nelson Mandela, President of the ANC-Transvaal, declared militarism and imperialism to be major threats to peaceful co-existence in Africa.⁴ Congressman Robert Resha, a free-lance journalist and President of the ANCYL-Transvaal, contended that racial tension which stemmed from European domination posed the most dangerous threat to world peace. According to Resha, freedom and peace were inextricably interwoven.⁵

To establish a holistic policy that would presumably reconcile the contradictions underscored by Congressmen Resha and Mandela, Congresswomen Watts and First, and others, the General Council of the SAPC passed the following resolution:

Congress declares that the policy of race discrimination in the Union of South Africa pursued by the South African Government constitutes a breach of the Union's obligation under

¹Report of the 1st National South African Peace Congress, 22-23 August 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

the United Nations Charter, and a threat to world peace.

We affirm that recognition of the fundamental human rights of all peoples, without distinction as to race, colour, sex, language, or religion, to self-government and self-determination is the only stable basis for the establishment of lasting peace and international harmony. ¹

Reporting this meeting to the World Peace Council on 25 August 1953, the SAPC listed the Congress of Democrats-Transvaal, the Council for Non-European Trade Unions, the TIC, the NIC, ANC-Natal, and ANC-Transvaal as affiliates. The SAPC Congress had been attended, the report continued, by 275 delegates, representing 263,870 people. ² The Government's reaction to the expansion of the anti-government Congress Coalition was swift and sharp. In a letter to the World Peace Council dated 8 September 1953, the SAPC cited the South African government's banning action against various Congressmen and Congresswomen. Congresswoman Hilda Watts, Secretary-elect of the SAPC, and Congressmen Nelson Mandela, ANC executive officer and President of the ANC-Transvaal and the ANCYL; A. Lipman, SAPC executive officer; Dan Tloome, Vice President of the SAPC, Acting Secretary General of the ANC, Secretary of the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, and the African Milling Workers Union; and Arnold Selby, Secretary of the Textile Workers Union and

¹ Report of the 1st National South African Peace Congress, 22-23 August 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

² Secretary of the South African Peace Congress to the Secretary of the World Peace Council, Prague, 25 August 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

an executive officer of the TPC had been banned.¹ The Springbok Legion also reported the banning of its Chairman, C. G. Williams, as of 28 August 1953.²

Clearly, this political action by Minister of Justice Swart had negative effects on the multiracial Congress Coalition. However, this action did not reduce racial tension nor did it curtail political activity by the people of colour and their white allies. In the second week of September 1953, the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) was formed in Cape Town. Membership was open to all, irrespective of colour. The trade unionist, Edgar Arthur Deane, was elected Chairman of the SACPO. The Coloured people suffered similar disadvantages as did the Indians and Africans. Racial prejudice and legal discrimination denied the Coloured people genuine civil and political equality. The Preamble of their Constitution included the following phrase:

The natural allies of an oppressed people are other oppressed peoples The Struggle for freedom of the African and Indian peoples of South Africa is bound up with the struggle for freedom of the Coloured people. 3

It is noteworthy that this organisation decided to write the principle of

¹ Acting Secretary of the South African Peace Congress, to the Secretary of the World Peace Council, Prague, 8 September 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

² Executive Committee Report submitted by P. J. (Jack) Hodgson, Secretary, to the Joint Congress and Legion Committee, 30 September 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

³ Proposed Programme and Amendments to the Constitution of the SACPO, CKC, Reel 7B, CRL.

multiracial cooperation into its document of freedom. The SACPO called for an alliance of workers of all races, particularly since wage bondage affected Europeans and people of colour alike. The "working class" shared a common struggle for material development, social amenities, productive occupations, status and upward mobility for their children. It is recalled that Jabavu and Abdurahman proposed a political alliance of South Africa's people of colour in 1910.

On 10 October 1953, the Democratic League-Cape, the Springbok Legion of Ex-Servicemen and Women, and the Congress of Democrats (Witwatersrand) jointly convened a conference in Johannesburg.¹ As a result of this fusion, the South African Congress of Democrats (SACOD), the sixth wing of the Congress Coalition, was formed. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights as adopted by the UN General Assembly became the policy of the organisation. The inaugural conference was opened by Congressman I. A. Cachalia, executive officer of the TIC and the SAIC. Cachalia declared that the new body would tighten the democratic bonds between Europeans and people of colour.² Pieter Beyleveld, executive officer of the Springbok Legion, was elected President of the SACOD. Percy John (Jack) Hodgson, National Secretary of the Springbok Legion, became the first National Secretary

¹Mass Mailing Letter from the Convenors, Democratic League, Springbok Legion, and Congress of Democrats, 24 September 1953, concerning a jointly sponsored conference, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

²Press Release by the SACOD, 22 October 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

of the SACOD. Trade Unionist, Lee Warden, was elected to the post of Vice President. This political organisation held the opinion that the ANC and the SAIC were not anti-white congresses, but democratic organisations that stood for egalitarianism and peaceful social change. Beyleveld charged that the Nationalist government's repeated use of legal racial discrimination to deprive non-whites of their legitimate political, civil and economic rights posed a serious threat to Whites because such misuse of the courts could be employed to curtail the civil liberties of the white community.¹ The ANCYL called the formation of the SACOD "a most significant step in the political history of this country."² The ANC-Natal also expressed optimism over the establishment of an organisation of Europeans committed to multi-racial equality under law.³ The Presidential Address of the banned Congressman, Chief A. J. Lutuli, was read to the conference. His concerns were unemployment, adequate housing, and education. Africans, he said, had suffered tremendously in those areas under the Malan administration.⁴ The next day, 2 November 1953, the ANC-Natal was formally asked to affiliate with the Durban Branch of the SACOD. A decision was subsequently made by the SACOD, the SAIC, and the ANC to cooperate both nationally and locally.⁵ One of

¹ Report of the SACOD, 10-11 October 1953, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

² Journal of the ANCYL, November 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

³ Minutes of the Annual Conference of the ANC, Natal Province, 31 October - 1 November 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 12, LC.

⁴ Idem, "Presidential Address" of Chief A. J. Lutuli, President of the ANC-Natal, and President General of the ANC, Treason Trial

the first political acts of the SACOD was a postcard and leaflet campaign directed against the Western Areas Removal Scheme. Adequate housing at a reasonable cost was of vital importance to the Indian and African members of the Congress Alliance and the SACOD took up their cause. In mid-November, the SACOD suffered the banning of two of its officers under the terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. The President of the SACOD, Congressman Pieter Beyleveld, did not believe that the Government's action was against communism. He asserted that both Jack Hodgson, National Secretary of the SACOD, and Mary Butcher, Secretary of the Cape Town Branch of the SACOD, were victims of reactionary Government policy to stifle opposition to its "fascist policies." He further argued:

The SACOD is pledged to fight for equal rights for all South Africans irrespective of race or colour, and constitutes as such the real opposition to the Nationalists' policy of sectional domination, and it is for this reason, and no other, that (Hodgson and Butcher) have been singled out for attack under the pretext that their being members of this organisation will further the objects of Communism. ¹

The World Peace Council met in Vienna, 22-23 November 1953. At this time, Professor Joliot-Curie, President of the World Peace Council, called for the prohibition of the H-Bomb and all weapons of

Evidence, Reel 12, LC.

⁵Chairman of the SACOD, Durban Branch, to the Secretary of the ANC, Natal, 2 November 1953, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

¹Violet Weinberg, Secretary of the SACOD, Regional Executive Committee, to all Branch Secretaries, 9 November 1953, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

mass destruction.¹ The Congress Coalition was represented at this international conference by Congressman Rev. D. C. Thompson, Chairman of the SAPC, and others.² Peaceful co-existence between races and nations was a dominant theme of each member organisation of the Congress Movement.³ Peaceful co-existence was also the principle objective of the UN.

At its 469th plenary meeting on 8 December 1953, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 721 (VIII). This resolution stated, in part:

That the Commission⁽⁴⁾ in its study on the racial policies of the Government of the Union of South Africa, has concluded that these policies and their consequences are contrary to the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 5

¹ Statement of Professor Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace, Paris, 20 October 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

² Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Council of Peace, to the Transvaal Peace Council, 10 June 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

³ For Peace and Friendship, Bulletin of the South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, September/October 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

⁴ The Commission that compiled the first report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa was composed of three distinguished diplomats: Hernan Santa Cruz (Chairman-Rapporteur), Former permanent representative of Chile to the United Nations; Former President of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (1950-1951); Former member of the Commission on Human Rights (1945-1953); Member of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities.

Dr. Dantes Bellegarde, Former Minister of Education of Haiti; Former representative of Haiti to the League of Nations; Former Minister of Haiti in Paris; Former Ambassador of Haiti to Washington; Former permanent representative of Haiti to the United Nations.

Henri Laugier, Professor at the Sorbonne; Former Assistant Secretary-General in charge of the United Nations Department of

The Commission held its first meeting 13 May 1953 and submitted its incomplete report on 3 October 1953. Several statutes enacted by the Union of South Africa in furtherance of the policy of apartheid were analysed by the Commission to determine if the enactments were in harmony with the provisions of the Charter and the Universal Declaration.

For example, the Commission determined that the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, No. 67 of 1952, was not consistent with Article 13, paragraph 1, of the Declaration: "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state." The Group Areas Act, No. 41, 1950, and the Native Laws Amendment Act, No. 54, 1952, were also in conflict with Article 13, paragraph 1. The Group Areas Amendment Act, No. 65, 1952, infringed upon the property rights of individuals and was not in harmony with Article 17 of the Declaration: "Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property."

Additionally, the Commission considered the Native Laws Amendment Act, No. 54, 1952, not to be in conformity with the provisions of Article 23, paragraphs 1, and 2 of the Declaration: "Everyone has

Social Affairs (1946-1951); Honourary President of the International League for the Rights of Man (New York); Member of the Executive Board of UNESCO.

Jean A. Romanos was the principle secretary to the Commission.

⁵
United Nations, General Assembly, 9th Session, 1954, Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement No. 16 (Document A/2719), pp. 1, 2.

the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. Everyone, without discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work."¹

At its 41st annual conference, 18 December 1953, the ANC favorably responded to the UN resolution of the 1953 Commission on the Racial Situation in South Africa; it was stated that

(The ANC conference) welcomes the interest shown by the United Nations. . . and expresses its approval in general of the findings of the Commission. 2

The ANC condemned the South African government's plan to remove forcibly the non-whites from the Western Areas and Alexandra. It was also recommended that a campaign directed against the Bantu Education Act be developed in conjunction with other organisations. However, the most far-reaching resolution called for multiorganisational political cooperation to effect socio-political change:

(This) Conference instructs the NEC to make immediate preparations for the organisation of a Congress of the People of South Africa, whose task shall be to work out a Freedom Charter for all the peoples and groups in the country. To this end, the Conference urges the ANC's Executive Committee of the National Executives of the SAIC, the COD, the CPO, or any other democratic organisations for the purpose of placing before them the plan of the Congress and to obtain their cooperative support in creating a truly representative Convention of the Peoples of South Africa. 3

¹ United Nations, General Assembly, 8th Session, 1953, Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement 16 (Document A/2505 and A/2505/Addendum 1), pp. 112-113.

² Resolutions adopted by the 41st Annual Conference of the ANC, Queenstown, 18-20 December 1953, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

³ Ibid.

Because this resolution effectuated Profesor Matthew's August, 1953, proposal, it marked the fifth stage in the historic development of the Congress Coalition.

On 14 January 1954, the ANCYL received a "call" from Congressman W. M. Sisulu, a Youth League founder and Secretary General of the ANC, to expand their programme in Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, and the Reef. In these areas, the Youth League was instructed to politicise the vast masses of non-white youths and organise them for political action. To this end, Congressman Duma Nokwe, a former teacher, Youth League leader, and Assistant National Secretary of the ANCYL, suggested that a Congress of All Youth be convened to draw up a Rights of Youth Charter.¹ The principal concerns of the Youth Movement were to be cultural development, education, employment, adequate wages, and healthy recreation. Their chief function was to "faithfully carry out the decisions of the ANC and the SAIC, and other democratic organisations."² A Rights of Youth Charter was never drafted, but an attempt was made to unite African, Indian, Coloured, and European youths into a national movement. There was also limited interaction between members of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the fledgling South African Youth Movement.

¹ Duma Nokwe, Assistant National Secretary of the ANCYL, to the Executive Committee, 14 January 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

² Duma Nokwe, "The Task of the Youth Movement, South Africa Today," African Lodestar, vol. 6, no. 1, January 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 24, LC.

The egalitarian policy of multiracial political cooperation continued to link the various organisations of the Congress Coalition. Congressman Pieter Beyleveld, President of the SACOD, was requested by Congressman Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the NIC, to participate in the seventh annual conference of the NIC to be held 5-7 February 1954.¹ Congresswoman Rica Hodgson, National Organiser of the SACOD and wife of the banned Jack Hodgson, informed President Naicker that the Durban Branch of the SACOD would send representatives to this conference.² In a public message to the NIC, the National Executive Committee of the SACOD pledged support and political cooperation with the Indians of Natal in their militant struggle for democratic rights.³

The resolutions passed at the NIC's conference were most important to the development of the Congress Coalition. First, the peace movement received the support of the Indian Congress. Secondly, the ANC's "call" to convene a People's Convention was endorsed. Thirdly, the Liberal Party's policy of a qualified franchise was repudiated. Fourthly, the egalitarian programme of multiorganisational political

¹ G. M. Naicker, President of the NIC, to the President of the SACOD, 22 December 1953, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

² National Organiser of the SACOD, to the President of the NIC, 6 January 1954, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

³ Message from Rica Hodgson, National Organiser of the SACOD, to the 7th Annual Provincial Conference of the NIC, 5-7 February 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

cooperation was reaffirmed.¹ This conference reiterated its firm opposition to the reactionary Government's attempt to remove the Coloured people from the common voters' rolls. Senator Cowley, M.P., African Representative, was asked to vote against the Separate Representation of Voters Act. Minister of Labour, B. J. Schoeman, was criticised for planning to introduce legislation to amend the Industrial Conciliation Act; further, it was strongly recommended that the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act be repealed. Legal racial discrimination in the trade unions stifled the freedom of the worker and, in general, restricted the people of colour to the menial, low-paying jobs. Bantu Education was described by the NIC as a scheme to retain Africans as cheap wage earners without the chance for upward mobility.²

During the opening days of January 1954, the SACOD informed the ANC, 6 January 1954, and the SAIC, 8 January 1954, of a National Council Meeting to be held in Johannesburg, 13-14 February 1954. A major reason for convening this conference was to coordinate a nation-wide strategy for promoting the upcoming Congress of the People of South Africa.³ In a letter dated 13 January 1954, the SACOD announced the forthcoming publication of their national newsletter - Counter Attack.

¹Resolutions adopted at the 7th Annual Provincial Conference of the NIC, 5-7 February 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

²Ibid.

³National Organiser of the SACOD, to the Secretary General of the ANC, 6 January 1954, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

The newsletter would keep the membership posted on current situations, pending events, and organisational policy and positions. The local branches of the SACOD were directed by Congresswoman Rica Hodgson, the National Organiser, to distribute the newsletters at public meetings.¹ The branches were further directed to organise debates and other forums to politicise the European community.

At their January meeting, the SACOD resolved to align with the SAIC and the ANC in support of the idea to hold a Congress of the People (COP). The Bantu Education Act was refuted and there was strong opposition to extending legal racial discrimination into South Africa's universities. The NEC of the SACOD proposed that a campaign be mounted against the Suppression of Communism Act and the Riotous Assemblies Act to force their ultimate repeal. The SACOD condemned the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act on the grounds that it denied workers their democratic right to strike for increased wages and better working conditions. The NEC of the SACOD also supported the ANC's demand for a L 1-0-0 per day minimum wage. Additionally, the Council voiced the opinion that the Industrial Conciliation Act not only weakened the trade union movement, but it also destroyed multi-racial cooperation between white and non-white workers and distabilized the integrated trade unions.²

¹ National Organiser of the SACOD, to the Secretary of the SACOD, Cape Town, 13 January 1954, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

² Resolutions adopted at the National Council Meeting of the SACOD, 13 January 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 12, LC.

The SACOD had joined the fight against undemocratic Government legislation. Additionally, the SACOD helped to form a Transvaal branch of the SACPO. It urged support of the local peace committees, and endorsed "suitable" candidates to contest African Representative seats in the 1954 election.¹

The Congress Coalition was also active in other areas. An "Africa for Peace" campaign was proposed by the SAPC. This campaign would have linked specific South African problems with larger issues; for example, the question of the incorporation of the British Protectorates into the Union of South Africa and the war in Kenya were linked to the African struggle for national independence against colonialism.²

The Natal Peace Council (NPC) held a series of meetings during February 1954 at which time Congressmen Ahmed Mohamed Kathrada, Indian leader and Chairman of the TIYC, and Walter M. Sisulu, Secretary General of the ANC, addressed these meetings. The problem of peace in South Africa, particularly in the area of race relations, and the international Cold War crisis were the major themes explored.³ The Congress Coalition overwhelmingly supported the Eastern bloc nations during the period of the Cold War. On 8 February 1954, Congresswoman Rica Hodgson, National Organiser for the SACOD, was directed

¹ Resolutions from Johannesburg Region, Counter Attack, no. 2, February 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

² Secretary of the South African Peace Council, to the Assistant National Secretary of the Basutoland African Congress, Butha Buthe, Basutoland, 15 January 1954, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

³ Secretariate Meeting of the NPC, 22 January 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 17, LC.

by her National Executive Committee to inquire how they could best "be of help" to the SAPC.¹ The SAPC replied on 15 February. It suggested that the SACOD formally resolve to support the World Peace Council. Secondly, that all branches discuss the programme for peace with the people. Thirdly, various prominent individuals should be contacted through the provincial peace councils to give public speeches on disarmament.² In the meantime, the SASPFSU sponsored a mass peace rally on 9 February 1954. In attendance were Congressmen Walter M. Sisulu, Secretary General of the ANC who had recently toured Russia and China, Paul Joseph, leader of the NIYC and a Congress Coalition delegate to the 1953 World Festival of Youth in Bucharest, and Duma Nokwe, Assistant National Secretary of the ANCYL and an attendant to the 1953 World Festival of Youth in Bucharest, and Congresswoman Ruth First, a political activist and wife of Joe Slovo.³ These four plus Sam Kahn and Brian Bunting had visited the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern Europe in 1953 as representatives of the Congress Coalition. Upon their return, they worked together to produce a pamphlet, "South Africans in the Soviet Union." Chairman of the

¹ Rica Hodgson, National Organiser of the SACOD, to the Secretary of the SAPC, 8 February 1954, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

² Secretary of the SAPC, to the National Organiser of the SACOD, 15 February 1954, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

³ For Peace and Friendship, September/October 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

SASPFSU, Rev. D. C. Thompson, a visitor to the Soviet Union in 1951, wrote the introduction.¹ South African uniformed police entered the SASPFSU peace rally, confiscated all literature on display, and forced all participants to furnish their names and addresses.² Writing to Minister Swart on 12 February 1954, Congressman D. C. Thompson protested the "police raid." Not until 10 June 1954 did Minister C. R. Swart reply to Rev. Thompson's letter, advising him that "the police acted in the public interest."³ This remained the public posture of the Government.

In a letter, 9 March 1954, to the SAPC, the Joint Secretaries of the SAIC, Congressmen Yusuf A. Cachalia and D. U. Mistry, speaking for their constituent bodies, the NIC, the TIC, and the Cape Provincial Indian Assembly, endorsed the proposal of Professor Joliot-Curie, President of the World Peace Council, for the prohibition of the H-Bomb and all weapons of mass destruction.⁴ Earlier, 1 March 1954, American scientists and military personnel had detonated their first hydrogen bomb on the island of Bikini in the Pacific Ocean. The NIC charged that the existence of mankind was threatened by this nuclear device.⁵

¹ For Peace and Friendship, September/October 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

² "1954 in Perspective," For Peace and Friendship, January/February 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

³ "Editorial," For Peace and Friendship, August 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

⁴ Joint Secretariate of the SAIC, to the Chairman of the SAPC, 9 March 1954, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

⁵ "H-Bomb Menace," Natal Indian Congress Newsletter, vol. 2, no. 2, 22 April 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

Congressman Harold Wolpe, Secretary of the SAPC, notified the SACOD that the World Peace Council's "proposal" was gaining support from pacifist, political bodies and religious organisations, nationally and internationally. Citing the H-Bomb explosions (1 and 26 March 1954) as examples of the urgent need of a Ban the Bomb World Meeting, the threat of nuclear war encouraged the Congress Coalition to identify with the World Peace Council's call to relax international tension.¹ Congressmen Sisulu of the ANC and Cachalia of the SAIC were requested by the SAPC on 21 April 1954 for a letter from the Congress Coalition condemning the actions of the United States government. A campaign to demand the banning of atomic weapons was recommended by the SAPC.² In a letter to leading religious spokesmen, the SAPC asked that sermons opposing the H-Bomb be sent to the peace movement.³ Trade unions were also contacted in an attempt to develop a groundswell against the development and proliferation of nuclear weapons, in general, and the NATO nations, in particular.⁴

Not only were there new political initiatives over the issues of war and peace, but there was also the new initiative of citizenship

¹Secretary of the SAPC, to the SACOD, 12 April 1954, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

²Secretary of the SAPC, to Sisulu and Cachalia, 21 April 1954, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

³Secretary of the SAPC, to Churches of All Faiths and Leading Churchmen, 23 April 1954, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

⁴Secretary of the SAPC, to the Unity Conference and the Council of Non-European Trade Unions, 28 April 1954, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

rights for non-white women. To voice their grievances and to establish a vehicle for change, approximately 150 women met on 17 April 1954 in Johannesburg. Out of this assembly was formed the Federation of South African Women (FSAW), the seventh wing of the Congress Coalition.¹ Congresswomen Ida Mntwana and Bertha Mkize, ANC Women's League activists, were elected to the offices of President and Vice President, respectively, of this multiracial women's organisation. Congresswoman Fatima Meer, a well-known sociologist and political activist, presented a major paper on the social status of Indian women in the Union of South Africa.² Congresswoman Rachael (Ray) Alexander, African Representative in Parliament from the Western Cape, and successor to Sam Kahn and Brian Bunting, was elected as National Secretary of the FSAW. Congresswoman Alexander delivered a sharp speech accusing the Nationalist government of practising racial discrimination against African, Coloured, and Indian women. She asserted that women of colour were denied liberty in South Africa. Furthermore, she alleged, the Government represented the economic and political interests of privileged landowners, mine owners, and factory owners, men whose objectives were to confine non-white men and women to the status of a cheap, unorganised,

¹Report of the 1st National Conference of Women, 17 April 1954, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

²"National Conference of Women," Natal Indian Congress Newsletter, vol. 2, no. 2, 22 April 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

and unskilled labour force.¹ With those weighty criticisms, the National Secretary of the FSAW underscored the urgency of the women's movement. Congresswoman Hilda Watts, Secretary of the SAPC, presented a concise paper entitled "Women's Struggle for Peace."² At this conference, the FSAW unveiled its Women's Charter and a draft of its Constitution. The Constitution stated, in part, that the organisation's aim was to effect the complete removal of all legal, economic and social barriers against women.³ The Preamble to the Women's Charter proclaimed as the inherent right of all women the full range of advantages, responsibilities, and opportunities enjoyed by white males in society.⁴ In an undated letter to the Secretary of the ANC, the National Executive Committee of the FSAW outlined the principal theme which inextricably linked the women's organisation to the multiracial political Congress Coalition. The National Executive Committee stated:

We realise that full equality for women cannot be achieved until all forms of race and class discrimination have been abolished. The struggle for women's rights is therefore part of the struggle for the emancipation of the African, Coloured, and Indian people as a whole. 5

¹ Report of the 1st National Conference of Women, 17 April 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

² An Agenda for the Conference to Promote Women's Rights, 17 April 1954, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

³ Draft Constitution of the FSAW, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

⁴ Report of the 1st National Conference of Women, 17 April 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

⁵ National Executive Committee, FSAW, to the Secretary of the ANC, 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 24, LC.

This commitment to full equality under law for all South Africans was underpinned by a clause in the Constitution obligating the FSAW to cooperate with other democratic organisations.¹ Moreover, the FSAW sought to effectuate a wide range of progressive social reforms. For instance, in the area of health, education and welfare, the women supported maternity leave with full pay for working mothers. They called for birth control clinics and properly equipped maternity homes with a well-trained professional staff. The women also supported compulsory education from the primary level to university level as well as nurseries for pre-schoolers, and special schools for the mentally and physically handicapped. The FSAW's programme called for old age pensions, homes and day care centres for the sick, national health insurance, and adequate hospital services for all South Africans.²

The women's movement furthermore called for improvements to be made in the impoverished reserves and locations where most dwellings were without complete plumbing facilities; that is, hot and cold piped water, a flush toilet, and a bathtub or shower, electricity, stoves for cooking and heating, and other amenities taken for granted by the privileged European segment of South African society. But aside from these social problems, women suffered from political hardships as well. Women of colour were denied the political weapon

¹ Draft Constitution of the FSAW, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 24, LC.

² A List of Women's Demands produced by the FSAW, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

whereby they could vote into office persons who were more sensitive to the reforms they wished to see implemented. In the economic sphere, job discrimination, low wages, the pass laws, the migrant labour system, and forced relocations severely threatened the family unit and restricted the social mobility of women. The FSAW called for reform of laws that discriminated against women in the areas of inheritance rights, property rights, and child custody rights. All in all, the FSAW wanted to gain for women the legal right to compete as equals with men in the affairs of State, in the money economy, and in every aspect of social life.¹ Clearly, the new reinforcements significantly expanded the Coalition's political agenda.

¹ Conference to Promote Women's Rights, 17 April 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 10, LC.

CHAPTER V

THE COALITION MOBILISES FOR RESISTANCE

To win public support for its political agenda, the Congress Coalition convened two important multiracial protest meetings in Sophiatown, 28 February and 7 March 1954. Congressmen Y. M. Dadoo, an alumnus of Edinburgh University and President of the SAIC, J. B. Marks, a bold, effective politician and executive officer of the ANC, and Robert Resha, a powerful public speaker and Acting President of the ANCYL re-emphasised to the people why they should oppose all colour bar legislation.¹ In attendance at the 28 February meeting was Congressman D. W. Bopape, a business partner of J. B. Marks and Secretary of the ANC-Transvaal. Bopape informed the people present that the ANC was considering drafting a new Constitution for South Africa, a document that would permit people of colour to take a direct part in the political process and hold elected offices. At the mass meeting of 7 March 1954, Congressman Yusuf A. Cachalia, a student of Islamic philosophy and an executive officer of the SAIC, bitterly criticised the increased use of legal force by the authorities, a topic of great concern to the people since they were often the victims of police brutality. However, the most militant statement came from

¹ Copy of notes made by Coloured Detective Sergeant Isaac Sharp, South African Divisional Headquarters, The Greys, attached to the Special Branch, at a meeting of "Let the People Speak Committee, "

Congressman Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, a revolutionary, lawyer and former President of the ANC-Transvaal:

Those who want freedom are those who are prepared to support a violent rebellion and militant action. . . . People like General Hertzog and General Smuts who were famous lawyers took up arms and fought for their people. That is the only way to be prepared in South Africa is to prepare the people for a violent rebellion. We are in a better position to fight against the forces of reaction than the Afrikaner people were, when they fought the British imperialist. ¹

Congressman Mandela's call to arms speech was a radical departure from the milder Congress Alliance rhetoric. Clearly, his violent "rebellion" theme was not approved by the Congress Coalition. At the Joint Conference of Representatives of the Congress Alliance held at Tongaat on 21 March 1954, the ANC, SAIC, SACOD, and the SACPO resolved to convene a nonviolent Congress of the People rally at a time and place to be announced later. ² A decision was made by the member organisations, in late May, to establish a National Joint Coordinating Committee. ³ Also, the Native Resettlement Act, No. 19, 1954 (Western Areas Removal Scheme) and the Bantu Education Act, No. 47, 1953, were

Sophiatown, 28 February 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC. See Appendix B for verbatim copies of selected detective reports for meetings, 1954-1956.

¹ Copy of notes made by Coloured Detective Sergeant Isaac Sharp, South African Divisional Headquarters, The Greys, attached to the Special Branch, at a meeting of "Let the People Speak Committee," Sophiatown, 7 March 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

² Report of the Executive Committee to the Biennial General Meeting of the TIC, 9 May 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 7, LC.

³ National Secretary of the SACOD, to the Secretary of the SACOD, 26 May 1954, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

targeted for joint political action by the Congress Alliance.

The Western Areas Protest Committee, under the chairmanship of Father Trevor Huddleston, C. R., ¹ decided to unite the various anti-removal initiatives for a united mass protest campaign. Earlier, on 28 June 1953, the multiracial Congress Alliance began the campaign against the Western Areas Removal with a conference in Sophiatown under the auspices of the ANC-Transvaal and the TIC, ² which was the first step to politicise and mobilise the masses against the removals. The Congress Alliance was opposed to the Government's scheme to relocate the residents of Martindale, Newclare, and Sophiatown which were areas within Johannesburg where people of colour could own land. (Alexandra was outside the Johannesburg municipal area.) In 1950, the City Council of Johannesburg had estimated the value of the land and buildings owned by non-white at L 4, 260, 487. The Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee, chaired by the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg, calculated that the housing problem was so acute that approximately 50, 000 homes were urgently needed by the non-white community of the Western Areas and Alexandra. ³

¹For a comprehensive account of the Western Areas Removal Campaign from an insider's perspective, see Father Trevor Huddleston, Naught For Your Comfort (London, 1960). For a major study of the Western Areas Removal Campaign and the Bantu Education Campaign, see Edward Feit, African Opposition in South Africa (Stanford, Calif., 1967).

²"Western Areas Removal," a policy statement, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

³"Western Areas Removal: Freehold Rights," statement, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 19, LC.

See also John S. Peart-Binns, Ambrose Reeves (London, 1973);

The multiracial political Congress Alliance was amenable to Father Huddleston's tentative plan to convene a Western Areas Protest Day.¹ The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, characterised the "Removals" as slum clearance; by contrast, the United Nations Commission characterised the South African government's action in the following manner:

Act No. 19 of 1954 is intended to remove the Natives who have been settled for many years in the suburbs of Johannesburg. Although it provides that Natives cannot be evicted unless they are resettled in a new area, it does not give expelled Native freeholders the right to obtain similar title in the area to which they are removed.

The Commission considers that the provisions of Act No. 18 of 1954 and of Act No. 19 of 1954 are not in harmony with Article 13, paragraph 1, of the Declaration. The Commission also considers that the provisions of Act No. 19 of 1954, under which expelled Native freeholders are not allowed to obtain equivalent rights in the area to which they are removed, are not in harmony with the provisions of Article 17 of the Declaration. Article 13, paragraph 1, and Article 17 of the Declaration read as follows: . . . Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State. (Article 17) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property. 2

The removals would compress the labour supply into the South-West area where there were few schools, churches, shopping centres, and

and the following books by Ambrose Reeves, Justice in South Africa (London, 1955); Shooting at Sharpeville: The Agony of South Africa (London, 1960); and South Africa - Yesterday and Tomorrow (London, 1962).

¹ "Western Areas Removal and Group Areas," Natal Indian Congress Newsletter, vol. 2, no. 2, 22 April 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

² United Nations, General Assembly, 9th Session, 1954, Second Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement No. 16 (Document A/2719), p. 17.

medical facilities, and inadequate transportation. The SACOD accused the Government of planning to develop a "vast municipally controlled police patrolled location. . . ." ¹ The homes and businesses of the non-whites in Newclare, Martindale, and Sophiatown would be destroyed by forced removals to Meadowlands. The Group Areas development concept of dividing the South African population into three major groups, Africans, Coloured, Whites, and subdividing the Coloureds into three additional groups, Indians, Malays, and Chinese, would become entrenched. On 31 May 1954, the Congress Alliance set 27 June 1954 as the date to discuss strategies and tactics to oppose the Western Areas Removal Scheme and the Bantu Education Act. ²

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, contended that "native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the State." ³ African Representative in Parliament Margaret Ballinger stated that Africans were opposed to the Act because they

. . . believe that control of native education by the Native Affairs Department is a means of shaping their society to a particular end and of directing their own lives to a set pattern. ⁴

¹ Counter Attack, no. 2, February 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

² Joint Conference Committee of the ANC -Transvaal, TIC, SACOD- Johannesburg, and the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, 31 May 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

³ United Nations, General Assembly, 9th Session, 1954, Second Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa Supplement No. 16 (Document A/2719), p. 10.

⁴ Ibid.

The ANCYL termed the Bantu Education Act as an instrument to "enslave the minds" of the African youth.¹ A completely segregated educational system was but a legal ploy to retain white supremacy. Intellectual freedom and universality were to be abandoned for the expediency of legal racial discrimination.

At the 43rd annual conference of the ANC-Cape, held 26 June 1954, Congressman Z. K. Matthews, President of the ANC-Cape, criticised the Congress Movement because of its tendency to attribute failures to such external forces as the missionaries, the members of the Native Representative Council, the African Chiefs, the Liberals, and the members of the Advisory Board. Professor Matthews recommended to the African, Coloured, Indian, and European people that they increase their unity and work to develop a strong, viable organisation. Congressman Matthews, also a lawyer, refuted the Government's allegation that the ANC was a subversive organisation. He restated the Africans' right to choose between trusteeship on the one hand, and self-determination on the other.²

The ANCYL, at their national conference held at Uitenhage on 26 June 1954, resolved to mount a series of campaigns for social reforms. They expressed a great concern over the economic opportunities

¹ Resolutions adopted at the 10th Annual Conference of the ANCYL, Transvaal, 23 May 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 6, LC.

² 43rd Annual Conference of the ANC-Cape, Uitenhage, "Presidential Address," Professor Z. K. Matthews, President of the ANC-Cape, 26 June 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

afforded non-whites. Skilled occupations were generally restricted for whites. People of colour received considerably lower wages than did their white counterparts and they were not protected by their trade union which had no bargaining power. The Youth League argued that the peasants were impoverished because of land shortages and the culling of livestock. African women, for the most part, were unable to find employment except as underpaid domestic servants in European homes. The Youth League planned to confront these social problems by rallying the youth of all races against the Nationalist government's discriminatory economic policies.¹

The next day, 27 June 1954, Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R., a strong supporter of egalitarianism, opened the Resist Apartheid Conference in Johannesburg. He pledged to continue to identify with the human rights struggles of the people of colour. He stressed his lack of political affiliations. His reasons for participating in the conference were three-fold: (1) manhood, (2) Christianity, and (3) priesthood. As a man, legal discrimination attacked Father Huddleston's humanity; as a Christian, legal racial discrimination compromised his principles of brotherly love and justice; and as a priest, legal racial discrimination denied him the right to preach the gospel of the basic equality of the human personality.² During the afternoon

¹43rd Annual Conference of the ANCYL, 26 June 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

²Resist Apartheid Committee, Johannesburg, 27 June 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

session, Lt. Colonel W. C. E. Prinsloo, Chief of the Special Branch of the C.I.D., ordered one hundred policemen armed with truncheons, rifles, and sten-guns to take the names and addresses of the delegates.¹ Prinsloo stated that the police were at this conference to investigate allegations of high treason.² Two days after the police raid, Congressman Chief Albert J. Lutuli, pragmatic politician, undauntingly referred to the Western Areas Removal Scheme as a "test case." He called for 50,000 South African volunteers to mount a nonviolent disciplined, nationwide campaign against legal racial discrimination.³ Thus the Congress Alliance would unite the people in mass action against the Bantu Education Act, the Coloured Voters Act, the Group Areas Act, the Industrial Conciliation Act, and the Western Areas Removal Scheme.

Members of the multiracial political Congress Alliance were asked to participate in the 21st Conference of the SAIC, held in Durban, 9-11 July 1954. Major concerns of the SAIC were the Group Areas Act and the Removal Scheme.⁴ The Conference objected to the forced removal of 58,000 people of the Western Areas of Johannesburg, 5,000 of whom were Indians, and resolved to oppose the Group Areas Act. Representatives of the ANC, SACOD, and SACPO

¹Resist Apartheid Conference, " Counter Attack, no. 2, 27 June 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

²Johannesburg Star, 28 June 1954, CKC, Reel 23B, CRL.

³Press release issued by Chief Albert J. Lutuli, President General of the ANC, 29 June 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 20, LC.

⁴Joint Secretaries of the SAIC, to Mr. P. Beyleveld, President of the SACOD, 7 June 1954, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

vigorously supported this resolution.¹ The Congress Alliance was supported in these political initiatives by General Mao Tse-Tung, President of the People's Republic of China:

On behalf of the Chinese people, I fully support the just stand of the Non-White people in South Africa (including Indians and other Asian and African peoples) for democratic rights and against racial discrimination and oppression. I wish your conference success in the cause of uniting Indians and all peoples in South Africa - both White and Non-White, in striving for peace, freedom, and democracy. 2

In a press statement, Congressman Dr. Naicker, President of the SAIC, credited the threatened forced removals under the Group Areas Act with bringing the true plight of the non-white people in South Africa to the attention of the world.³ In late June 1954, Paul Robeson and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, two leading Pan-Africanists, pledged their support to the Congress Alliance's decision to convene a Congress of the People of South Africa.⁴ Both African-Americans were representatives of the Council of African Affairs.

Earlier in June, the political Congress Alliance had intensified its anti-war campaign. The "imperialist" conflict in Kenya was condemned

¹ Resolutions adopted at the 21st Conference of the SAIC, 9-11 July 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

² Message from General Mao Tse-Tung, President of the People's Republic of China, to the 21st Annual Conference of the SAIC, 9-11 July 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 22, LC.

³ Press release issued by the SAIC, July 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

⁴ W. M. Sisulu, "Let Us Work Together," Fighting Talk, June 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

in leaflets and resolutions.¹ The SAPC demanded that the war be terminated immediately and the nonviolent method be employed to resolve further disputes. Additionally, the SAPC asked member organisations of the Congress Alliance to adopt resolutions demanding that the H-Bomb be outlawed, that uranium be produced exclusively for peaceful ends, and that Britain, France, Russia, and the United States draw up a peace pact with the weaker nations.² The Congress Alliance was opposed to military pacts and advocated detente between the Eastern and Western bloc nations.

The SAPC was notified by the National Action Council of the ANC, SAIC, SACPO, and SACOD of the resistance programme of the Congress of the People. Duly elected representatives of all the ethnic groups would convene a National Congress to draw up a charter which would express the aspirations of the general population. The scope and purpose of the COP was summarised in a single phrase: "Let Us Speak Together of Freedom." The National Action Council indicated that the resistance programme required a nationwide campaign to interview ordinary South Africans in order to hear the opinions of the broadest cross-section of the community.³ The sharp tenor

¹Secretary of the SAPC, to the Secretary General of the ANC, 18 June 1954, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

²Secretary of the SAPC, to the Youth Congress and the ANC-Cape, 26 June 1954, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

³The National Action Council of the Congress of the People to the Secretary of the SAPC, 5 July 1954, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

of popular resistance was powerfully articulated by Congressman Chief A. J. Lutuli, President General of the ANC:

We have all the human and moral rights to resist laws and policies which create a climate inimical to the full development of our human personalities. . . . ¹

Obviously, the laws and policies of the Government were hostile to the development of a nonracial democracy. The first major conference of the COP after Lutuli's Resistance Declaration was held in Johannesburg on 25 July 1954. The Nationalist Party and the United Party, though invited, elected not to attend. Congressman Wilson Zamindele Conco, executive officer of the ANC and National Treasurer of the ANCYL, opened this conference. Nonviolence was chosen as the instrument to effect social change. Dr. Conco stressed the need to awaken the political consciousness of non-whites.² The objectives of the COP conference were twofold - to lay the framework for consolidating democratic elements around a common programme and to give rise to a new spirit and enthusiasm amongst broad sections of the South African community. Congressman Blina Adams Daniels, Chairman of the SACPO, spoke forcefully of the necessity of the COP, concluding his remarks by proposing the implementation of the resolution.³

¹Message to "Resist Apartheid Campaign, by Chief A. J. Lutuli, President General of the ANC, 11 July 1954, CKC, Reel 3B, CRL.

²Congress of the People Conference: ANC, SACPO, TIC, SACOD, 25 July 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

³"Let Us Speak of Freedom," Speaking Together, no. 1, August 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 19, LC.

An uncommon event occurred at this conference. Once again, several persons attached to the C.I.D., Special Branch, were monitoring the proceedings. On this occasion, however, Joe Slovo, influential lawyer and representative of the COD on the National Consultative Committee of the Congress Alliance, requested that the police officers leave the Congress meeting. Congressmen Pieter Beyleveld, and Harold Wolpe, executive officers of the SACOD, were instructed by Congressman Slovo to make an immediate application to the Witwatersrand Local Division of the Supreme Court to have the police officers quit the meeting.¹ The application was granted and Major Spengler of the Special Branch ordered his men to withdraw. The detectives immediately complied.² Nevertheless, police intimidation increased. Peaceful meetings were repeatedly interrupted by men armed with sten-guns and revolvers.

Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R., Chairman of the Protest Committee, addressed the issue of police intimidation at a Western Areas Removal Conference on 14 August 1954 in Durban: "This element of fear can be a very deadly thing. It was the kind of weapon that Hitler used."³ Father Huddleston went on to argue that fundamentally the human rights of non-whites were violated by police

¹ Congress of the People Conference: ANC, SACPO, TIC, SACOD, 25 July 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

² "Transvaal Regional Conference C.O.P., " Speaking Together, no. 1, August 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 19, LC.

³ Meeting on the Western Areas, Durban, 14 August 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 18, LC.

action and government policies. He characterised the Western Areas Removal Scheme as robbery. Congressman Dr. Hendricks, a leading member of the SACOD, called the Government's fear tactics misguided.¹ Professor Leo Kuper, Chairman of the Coastal Region of the Liberal Party, praised Father Huddleston's commitment to human rights and restated the Liberal Party's stiff opposition to the Group Areas Act.² Congressman Joe Slovo, a political activist and an executive officer of the SACOD, associated his organisation with the anti-Western Areas Removal forces.³ Congressman I. C. Meer, a prominent attorney and an executive officer of the NIC, pledged the full support of the Indian Congress behind Father Huddleston's initiative.⁴ Multiorganisational cooperation was developing into a significant political force. The Government's assault on the people's right to assemble served to catalyse the people of colour's discontent and to expose Malan's tyranny.

The Congress Alliance voted to certify Congressman T. E. Tshunungwa, a member of the Tembu royal house and the National Organiser of the COP, to establish Provincial Committees throughout South Africa.⁵ During the month of August, under the direction of

¹ Meeting on the Western Areas, Durban, 14 August 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 18, LC.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Rica Hodgson, National Secretary of the National Executive Committee of the SACOD, introducing T. E. Tshunungwa as National Organiser for the COP, 6 August 1954, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

Congressman Tshunungwa, freedom volunteers were instructed in the techniques of explaining the aims and objectives of the COP campaign. An effective freedom volunteer was expected to organise local COP committees in the churches, factories, and wherever people gathered.¹ Another task of the freedom volunteer was to mobilise mass resistance against the legal racial discrimination policy of the Government. The Group Areas Act, the Western Areas Removal Scheme, the Bantu Education Act, and the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act were the key issues on which the freedom volunteer focused his energetic attack;² however, local issues and grievances such as passes, high rents, low wages, and poor transportation were also addressed by the freedom volunteer.

The COP Action Council asked the FSAW to support their enterprise in August 1954. The National Executive Committee of the FSAW voted to participate actively in the campaign.³ Congresswoman Rachel Alexander, National Secretary of the FSAW, linked the issue of world peace to the COP campaign:

We as mothers cannot remain silent when in our country and the world fascists are inciting race hatred and preaching war. The American money Lords are provoking war on the peaceful Chinese people. 4

¹"Tasks of Freedom Volunteers," Speaking Together, no. 2, August 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 19, LC.

²Letter from the FSAW; to Members, 25 August 1954, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

The FSAW and the SAPC expressed concretely their desire for a Pax Atomica and improved relations between the East and the West. Both member organisations of the Congress Alliance claimed to be motivated by a commitment to world peace. The SAPC linked non-racial democracy in South Africa to the relaxation of international tensions between East and West. The peace movement wanted to establish itself on a mass basis throughout the country. They wanted Chiang Kai Shek disarmed, Formosa returned to China. China admitted to the UN, the NATO alliances dissolved, war bases dismantled, troops withdrawn, peaceful negotiations of all international problems, weapons of mass destruction outlawed, and the cessation of imperialist wars against the people's rights in Malaya and Kenya.¹

In early September 1954, the National Action Council of Johannesburg contended that South Africa was fast becoming separated into "two mutually antagonistic groups" due to mutual racial animosity, mistrust and suspicion.² This crisis situation was exacerbated by the continued banning of the "people's representatives" of the Congress Alliance, as Congressmen Lutuli, Kotane, Marks, Mandela, Tloome, Mji, Njongwe, Molema, Bopape, Matji, Tshume, and Matthews, all of the ANC executive staff; Congressmen Dadoo, Cachalia, and Sita of the SAIC; Congressman James Phillips of the

¹A Report: The Peace Movement and the COP, n.d. (late 1954 or early 1955), Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

²"South African Congress of the People Will Frame the Freedom Charter," issued by the National Action Council, Johannesburg, September 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 19, LC.

SACPO; Congressmen Fischer, Williams, Kahn, Bunting, Hodgson, and Congresswoman Watts of the SACOD; and Congresswoman Alexander and Congressmen Kuene, Reddy, and Weinberg of the trade union movement.¹ This expression of legal political force by the Nationalist government was designed to stifle the voice of the non-white peoples.

The Youth Action Committee of the COP, composed of Robert M. Resha, Chairman of the ANCYL, A. M. Kathrada, Secretary of the SAIYC, and Harold Wolpe, Treasurer of the SACOD Youth Branch, was most critical of Minister Swart's policy of banning the leaders of the Congress Alliance.² On 5 September 1954, Congressman Dr. Naicker, President of the NIC, emphasised the need for moral courage, determination, and self-sacrifice in the political struggle.³ The Natal Action Committee of the COP issued a press statement on 6 September 1954 in which Congressman I. C. Meer, Vice President of the NIC, underlined for the people the nonviolent nature of the resistance campaign. In the face of increased Government provocation, the multiracial Congress Alliance reasserted its cardinal principle of nonviolence.⁴ The police did not interfere with the Natal Conference

¹Statement issued by W. M. Sisulu, after being ordered to resign from the ANC and from his position as Secretary General of the ANC, 20 August 1954, CKC, Reel 14A, CRL. For a complete listing of names, see Appendix C.

²Meeting of the ANCYL Youth Action Committee, 25 August 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 24, LC.

³Speech by Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the NIC, delivered at the 1st National Conference of the COP, 5 September 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 7, LC.

⁴"Natal Launches COP Campaign," Press statement issued by the Natal Action Committee of the COP, 6 September 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 26, LC.

of the COP, 6 September 1954, although more than 300 delegates were in attendance representing social clubs, youth organisations, churches, teachers, students, women's organisations, and all of the member organisations of the Congress Alliance. Referring to this multiracial rally, Congressman Chief A. J. Lutuli stated that the challenge for South Africa was whether there would be civil liberties for all or freedom for only Europeans.¹

Political freedom and economic freedom were closely inter-related. The ANCYL expressed the peoples concern over the high cost of living, the lack of pensions for the aged, and the absence of a minimum wage guideline. Additionally, the establishment of a powerful trade union movement composed of workers of all races was a major priority of the Youth League.² Citizenship rights and worker rights were equally important facets of the struggle for civil liberties.

Through the Youth Action Committee of the COP, the youth of the Congress Alliance became associated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth.³ The youth of the COP celebrated the ninth anniversary of the founding of the World Federation of Democratic Youth with a World Youth Day Festival on 10 November 1954. Congresswoman Ruth First, executive officer of the SAPC, was requested

¹Speaking Together, no. 2, September 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 4, LC.

²Presidential Address delivered by T. T. Tshume, Acting President, to the ANCYL-Cape, Provincial Conference, 9-11 October 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

³R. E. Press, for Coordinating Committee of the SACOD, to all young members of the SACOD, 18 October 1954, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

to address this Youth Day in Johannesburg since she had attended the Council Meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Peking, China, earlier in the year. She chose to speak to the assembly on the topic of the peace movement and the youth of South Africa.¹

On 4 November 1954, Congressman Leon Levy, trade unionist and Secretary of the SAPC, reiterated the South African peace movement's rationale for supporting all organisations which had confirmed their desire for peaceful change:

We believe that no matter which economic system prevails, the common desire of all peoples is peace and friendship with one another.²

Holding the view that ideological differences in governmental policies between the East and West should not become the catalyst for a catastrophic nuclear war, the SASPFUSU agreed completely with Levy's assessment. The Congress Alliance based its policy of friendly relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union on the premise that nuclear war should be avoided at all cost, since "nobody could win, but millions of innocent men, women and children would perish."³ Congressman Rev. D. C. Thompson's organisation felt that the physics

¹Celebrating World Youth Day, Johannesburg, 10 November 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

²Leon Levy, Secretary of the SAPC, to the Secretary of the SASPFUSU, 4 November 1954, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

³"Public Meeting and Celebration, Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Soviet Union (1917-1954), " Bulletin issued by the South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, 7 November 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

of destruction were morally wrong for it would exterminate the civilian population. On 27 November 1954, the Natal Peace Council called for the immediate admission of China into the UN and continued firmly to oppose the rearmament of Germany.¹ As a result of the policies and priorities of the SAPC and other member organisations, the Congress Alliance was irretrievably linked to the international peace movement.

In November 1954, Congressman Pieter Beyleveld, National Chairman of the SACOD, asked the members and friends of the multiorganisational Congress Alliance to sponsor the candidacy of Len Lee Warden, National Vice Chairman of the SACOD, for the office of African Representative from the Cape Western District. This African seat in Parliament had previously been held by Congressmen Sam Kahn, and Brian Bunting, and Congresswoman Ray Alexander, three white allies.² The SACOD was also involved in the housing problems of the non-whites. A leaflet campaign was undertaken to protest the increase of rents of people of colour living in the Johannesburg area.³ Increased rents of non-white dwellings were also protested by the Resist Apartheid Committee. The Congress Alliance

¹ Minutes of an Executive Council of the Natal Peace Council, 27 November 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 17, LC.

² P. Beyleveld, National Chairman of the SACOD, to "Dear Friend," 10 November 1954, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

³ Head Office of the SACOD, to the Secretariate of the ANC, 19 October 1954, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

linked this issue to the Western Areas Removal Scheme.¹ The FSAW convened a conference on 14 November 1954 to register its opposition to the rapid increase in the cost of non-white housing. Congressman Father Trevor Huddleston, Chairman of the Western Areas Protest Committee, and Congresswoman Helen Joseph, co-founder of the SACOD and Secretary of the FSAW, called for an end to the unreasonable rent increases and asked for subsidised housing for the underprivileged non-whites.² The SACOD submitted a memorandum to the Mayor and to the City Councillors of Johannesburg during November condemning the segregationist race zoning and housing policy of the South African government.³ The Congress Alliance contended that living conditions for the non-white urban population were dismal, inhumane, and immoral.

On 21 November, 1954, Dr. Naicker, President of both the SAIC and the NIC, reacted positively to the bold stand that certain Christians had taken against legal racial discriminatory legislation.⁴ The British Council of Churches had adopted a resolution on 27 October

¹P. Beyleveld, National Chairman of the SACOD, to "Dear Friend," 28 October 1954, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

²FSAW, on Increased Rental in Sub-Economic Housing Schemes, 14 November 1954, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

³Memorandum on the Proposed Increases of Rents in Sub-Economic Housing Schemes, presented by SACOD, to the Johannesburg City Council, November 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

⁴Message of Dr. G. M. Naicker, delivered by Advocate H.E. Mall III, to the Working Committee of the NIC, 21 November 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 7, LC. See also Adrian Hastings,

vigorously censoring legal racial discrimination:

That the policy of the South African Government as expressed in the Native Resettlement Act and the Bantu Education Act where by it is proposed to ensure the mental as well as the physical segregation of the Bantu in his own community and to deny him a place in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour is not only as offence against human rights, but also against the Divine Law as set forth in the Bible. ¹

The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves; the Bishop of Pretoria, the Rt. Rev. R. Selby Taylor; the R. C. Archbishop of Natal, the Rt. Rev. Denis Hurley; Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. G. H. Clayton; Chief Rabbi of Johannesburg, Mr. L. Rabinowitz, and Father Trevor Huddleston had publicly repudiated the Bantu Education Act.² On 18 October 1954, Father Huddleston, an active opponent of the Bantu Education Act, had commented on the closing of St. Peter's Mission School:

I believe that apartheid, both in its conception and its application is an evil thing. Not just a mistake, but an evil; not just a political catchword, but an evil. . . . I am not interested in Dr. Verwoerd's opinions; not interested in the opinion of European employers; or farmers or M.P.'s - fundamentally I am interested in the future of the African race, as such. And because this Act affects their future so greatly and so disastrously, I oppose it with all my strength. ³

A History of African Christianity (London, 1979).

¹Resolution adopted by the British Council of Churches, 27 October 1954, reported in the 42nd Annual Conference of the ANC, 16-19 December 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

²United Nations, General Assembly, 10th Session, 1955, Third Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement No. 14 (Document A/2953), pp.32-33.

³Ibid., 47.

The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, at the 15-31 August 1954 meeting assembled at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, passed an important resolution concerning South African apartheid legislation:

The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches declares its conviction that any form of segregation based on race, colour, or ethnic origin is contrary to the gospel, and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ. ¹

Two years earlier, the Assembly had authorised an advisory committee to prepare an ecumenical survey on the topic, "Intergroup Relations - the Church Amid Racial and Ethnic Tensions." Alan Paton, Professor Z. K. Matthews, Dr. Ben J. Marais and two prominent African-Americans, Dr. Channing Tobias and Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, mentor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., were among the nineteen member committee. This survey had been published in June 1954 and had become the "working paper" for the Assembly.

The following month, November 1954, the R. C. Archbishop of Natal, the Rt. Rev. Denis Hurley spoke against the Bantu Education Act:

We are asked to stand aside from the field of education while the future of South Africa is hewn out with massive apartheid measures, that fall like hammer blows on the soul of the black man and the conscience of the white. The African can put up with a lot patiently and cheerfully - poverty, under-nourishment, disease, low wages, separation from wife and family - but there is one thing he cannot abide forever. It is

¹United Nations, General Assembly, 10th Session, 1955, Third Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement No. 14 (Document A/2953), pp. 86-87.

the insult he sees in every law and regulation of apartheid. The black man refuses to admit that these restrictions are good for him simply because there is in him as in every other man the instinct of freedom, justice, human dignity and self-respect. 1

The UN Commission declared that the Bantu Education Act, No. 47, 1953, was not in conformity with the provisions of Article 26 of the Declaration:

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children. 2

Additionally, the Church of England had uncompromisingly rejected all apartheid legislation. The great Pan-Africanist, George Padmore, included Father Trevor Huddleston and the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves among the whites "who have taken an uncompromising stand on behalf of racial equality."³ Indeed, both men were legitimate heirs to the Clapham Sect legacy. The support from the religious community,

¹United Nations, General Assembly, 10th Session, 1955, Third Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement No. 14 (Document A/2953), p. 48.

²Ibid., p. 18.

³Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism, pp. 323-324.

both inside and outside the Union of South Africa, was an added dimension to the Congress Alliance.

During the month of November, the COP lost a sponsor. The National Executive Committee of the South African Liberal Party decided not to co-sponsor the Congress of the People campaign since

. . . They were not in complete agreement with certain of the methods adopted to organise the COP, particularly the desire to get the Freedom Charter adopted at a mass representative gathering of the people. ¹

However, this loss was quickly recouped. The Regional Committee of the COP for the Natal Midlands was established in November 1954 by the African and Indian Congresses. ² On 5 December 1954, the Midland Regions held a day-long conference in Pietermaritzburg. Congressman Dr. Wilson Conco, executive officer of the ANC-Natal, presided. ³ It was announced that the COP had gained three new sponsors: Textile Workers' Industrial Union, African Laundering, Dyeing and Cleaning Workers' Union, and the Food, Canning and Allied Workers' Union. ⁴ These new personnel considerably enlarged the ranks of the Freedom Volunteers in the Natal Midlands Region. ⁵

¹National Action Council of Congress of the People, "To All Regions," 9 November 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

²Letter from the Natal Midlands Region Committee of the COP, to "Dear Friends," 20 November 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

³Secretariate of the National Action Council for the COP, to the SAPC, 25 November 1954, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

⁴Circular No. 2 to all Regions, from the National Action Council of the COP: ANC, SAIC, SACOD, SACPO, to "Dear Friend," Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

Congressman John H. H. Hoogendyk, executive officer of the Durban SACOD, indicated that all regional committees of the COP should have their demands ready by 15 March 1955 for incorporation into the South African Declaration of Human Rights (Freedom Charter).¹

The decision to mobilise the people in a Resist Apartheid Campaign represented the sixth stage in the historical development of the anti-government Congress Alliance. The Resist Apartheid Campaign was directed against the 1) Bantu Education Act, 2) Native Resettlement Act, 3) Pass Laws, 4) Group Areas Act, 5) Suppression of Communism Act, and 6) Anti-trade union measures. The Youth League and the Women's League, both of the ANC, actively cooperated with other members of the multiorganisational Congress Alliance to protest these legal racial discriminatory enactments.²

The Nationalist government ordered the first stage of the Western Areas Removals to begin on the morning of 9 February 1955. Minister C. R. Swart detailed over 2,000 heavily armed soldiers and policemen to remove selected African families from Sophiatown to

⁵"The Campaign of the COP for the Natal Midlands," COP, vol 1, no. 1, December 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 7, LC.

¹Copy of notes made from a tape recording by Detective Sergeant, P. C. Swanpoel, South African Divisional Headquarters, Special Branch, of a meeting of the Midlands Region Conference of the COP, Pietermaritzburg, 5 December 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 14, LC.

²Minutes of the ANCWL, 19 December 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

Meadowland, an area approximately fourteen miles outside of Johannesburg.¹ The removals were conducted with military precision. Meetings had previously been banned in the Magisterial Districts of Roodepoort and Johannesburg and the Resettlement Board had notified the Africans to quit Sophiatown peacefully. There was no loss of life during this action as one hundred families were uprooted at gunpoint and forced into segregated housing.² Photographs of this displacement were distributed by members of the nonviolent Congress Alliance throughout South Africa, and Congressmen and women continued to speak out against the removals and legal racial discrimination.³

Concurrently, the attention of the multiorganisational Congress Alliance was focused upon the Bantu Education Act. The SACOD issued a booklet entitled "Educating for Ignorance" which ridiculed forced segregation in the schools.⁴ They charged that Bantu Education was an attempt to indoctrinate non-white children into a permanent state of inferiority. It was stressed that through this blatantly racist and repressive legislation, the Nationalist government hoped to retain white supremacy by fostering tribalism in its most reactionary form.

¹"The Western Areas Campaign," The Call, 9 February 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

²"ANC and the Removal," A policy statement, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 12, LC.

³Secretary of the SACOD, to Mr. Bennie Turok, 22 February 1954, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

⁴P. Beylevelde, National Chairman of the SACOD, to "Dear Friend," 29 January 1955, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

The booklet likewise argued that Bantu Education would produce a docile, subservient, cheap labour force that would be educated not to resist the notorious policy of apartheid.¹

As a result of the forced removal of the African people from Sophiatown to Meadowland, 9 February 1955, the Secretariate of the National Action Council of the COP notified all regions and provinces that the National Day of Demands for inclusion into the Freedom Charter had been rescheduled from 13 February to 20 February 1955.² The freedom volunteers were asked to have the demands sent to the various local committees by late-February 1955.³ The aim of the Congress Alliance was to include the aspirations of every racial group of South Africa in a non-racist constitution. In a poem entitled "The Congress of the People," A. LeRoux epitomised the human struggle to be free:

.
All men born by women differ not,
Be he Black or Brown or White,
All men are with aspiration fraught,
To be freemen with a right. 4

This absence of freedom gave rise to numerous grievances. The African

¹"Educating for Ignorance," a booklet issued by the SACOD, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL. See also Feit, African Opposition in South Africa, pp. 143-190.

²National Action Council of the COP: ANC, SAIC, SACOD, SACPO, February 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

³"To All Volunteers," Speaking Together, January 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 6, LC.

⁴A. LeRoux, "The Congress of the People (poem)," New Youth, vol 1, no. 5, February 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 7, LC.

farmer wanted land reform; the urban worker wanted higher wages; better living conditions and no passes; the Indian shopkeeper wanted to engage in commerce without artificial barriers; the trade unionist wanted the Industrial Conciliation Bill repealed; the Cape Coloured resented legal racial discrimination on public conveyances; and the European was concerned about the decline in both white and non-white civil liberties.

Also at this time, the Congress Alliance further expanded its international initiatives. At the Fifth Council Meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation held in Geneva, Switzerland, February 1955, Congresswoman Helen Joseph, Regional Secretary of the FSAW, presented the "mothers' grievance" on the plight of South African children. The report minutely described how the process of Government-sanctioned legal racial discrimination was warping the defenseless psyche of South African children; she stated,

. . . . The life of every child in South Africa is dominated by the racial structure of the country, by the theory of perpetual white supremacy. The white child is indoctrinated with his superiority from his earliest childhood, throughout all the stages of his development. The non-European child suffers and survives in a condition that is almost beyond the powers of description; facts and figures fail to convey the reality with its hideous pattern of enforced inferiority, of perpetual serfdom, of hardship, want, disease. Yet despite the depths of suffering and indignity, the courage and determination of the non-European mother rises triumphantly, going forward to ultimate victory, not for herself, but for her child. ¹

¹"The Life of Children in South Africa," Report prepared by the FSAW for the Fifth Council Meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation, Geneva, Switzerland, February 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

"All laws in South Africa," contended the women's movement, "whether they relate to conditions of work, education, property rights, voting rights, social welfare, health or anything else are discriminatory."¹ From the FSAW's perspective, the mental health and the civil rights of the children were threatened by the status quo in South Africa.

The status quo also limited the scope of workers' rights. At its inaugural session on 5 March 1955, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the eighth wing of the Congress Movement, made it clear that, in their judgment, freedom of association was a worker's right. The leadership and the rank-and-file stressed the point that the long-term interests of the workers could, under no circumstance, be served by discriminatory union practices based on legal racial discrimination. The Constitution of the SACTU affirmed that "the interests of all workers are alike, whether they be European or Non-European, African, Coloured, Indian, Afrikaner, or Jewish."² The theme of workers' rights firmly linked the SACTU with other political organisations in the Congress Alliance. Workers' rights were determined by industrial legislation which dictated the parameters for both the employee and the employer in economic situations. The making

¹"The Life of Children in South Africa," Report prepared by the FSAW for the Fifth Council Meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation, Geneva, Switzerland, February 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

²"Constitution of the SACTU," adopted March 1955, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

of law was a political process. Hence, there was an irrevocable linkage between the political sphere and the economic sphere. The SACTU was the political instrument of the worker. The Chairman-elect of the SACTU, Congressman Pieter Beyleveld, stated in his inaugural address that "the present Government realises that organised labour is its greatest enemy. . . ."¹ This multiracial delegation, representing thirty-five trade unions, with nearly 40,000 workers, responded enthusiastically to Chairman-elect Beyleveld's suggestion that the union could pressure the Government into recognising the democratic rights of the workers.² Industrial legislative reforms, improved working conditions, and increased wages were some of the more important issues aired at this inaugural session.³ The formation of the SACTU indicated there was a growing discontent among some of the workers for radical reforms in the economic life of the people.⁴ The executive officers of the SACTU, all trade unionists, had close ties to the multiorganisational Congress Alliance. General Secretary Congressman Leslie Masina was a member of the National Executive of the ANC. Treasurer, Congressman Leon Levy was an executive officer of the SAPC. Vice President, Congressman Gert Sibande

¹Minutes of the Inaugural Conference of the SACTU, 5-6 March 1955, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

²SACOD, Lecture No. 8, "Workers' Solidarity," Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

³The Call, mid-March 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

⁴Workers' Unity, vol. 1, no. 2, June 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

was executive officer of the ANC-Transvaal. Vice President, Congresswoman Lucy Mvubelo was the first African women elected to such an office. Chairman, Congressman Pieter Beyleveld was also the President of the SACOD.

On 24 March 1955, Congressman Pieter Beyleveld, as organiser for the National Action Council of the COP, invited the newly organised SACTU to join with the Congress Alliance in sponsoring the COP.¹ The FSAW was also asked to assist in this sponsorship.² The ANC Women's League made a call to mothers and daughters of all races to join the ranks of the Congress Alliance.³ The COP was perceived by the anti-government Congress Alliance to be a multiorganisational stand in défense of civil liberties for all nationalities in South Africa.

Member organisations of the Congress Alliance were notified of the pending eighth Annual Provincial Conference of the NIC to be convened in Natal on 25 March 1955.⁴ Because of earlier bannings, the SAPC chose not to participate.⁵ At this conference, Congressman Father Trevor Huddleston's speech, delivered in absentia, was very

¹P. Beyleveld for the National Action Council of the COP, to the Secretary of the SACTU, 24 March 1955, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

²National Action Council, COP, to the Secretary of the FSAW, 23 March 1955, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

³"A National Call to All Women," Press statement published in the New Age, reported in the Minutes of the National Working Committee of the ANCWL, 8 March 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

⁴N. T. Naicker, Acting General Secretary of the NIC, to the Secretary of the SACOD, 10 March 1955, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

⁵Secretary of the SAPC, to the NIC, 22 March 1955, CKC, Reel 12B, CRL.

critical of whites, particularly

. . . . the English-speaking press of this country (who) is very willing to give prominence to what it likes to call "the positive aspects of apartheid." It soothes white conscience to think that the compulsory eviction of 60,000 people from their homes is "slum clearance." It soothes the mind of the average white South African to believe that Native Education is now to be controlled by "experts" who "know the native" rather than by hot-headed missionaries with liberal ideas. It is a comfort, too, to think that the Indian problem is to be caught up in the wider net of Group Areas proposals which will make it so much easier to control. ¹

By stark contrast, Congressman Pieter Beyleveld, National Chairman for the National Executive Committee of the SACOD and Chairman of the SACTU, in a letter to the Bandung African-Asian Conference, expressed a different, more positive perspective which included all the Huddlestons of the anti-government Congress Alliance:

In the name of that minority of white South Africans who believe in the practices of democracy, who subscribe to the UNO Universal Declaration of Human Rights and who hate and oppose racialism and race discrimination, we wish to extend our greetings to the representatives of half of mankind. ²

Beyleveld's letter to the African-Asian Conference in Bandung underscored the mutual respect that had developed between European and Non-European representatives of the multiracial Congress Alliance. United opposition to racialism significantly enriched multiorganizational, multiracial political opposition.

¹Opening Address by Rev. Father Trevor Huddleston, delivered in absentia to the Eighth Annual Provincial Conference of the NIC, 25 March 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

²P. Beyleveld, National Chairman for the National Executive Committee, SACOD, to the Secretary of the Afro-Asian Conference, c/o the Government of Indonesia, 23 March 1955, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

On 1 April 1955, universal education was legally discontinued for non-whites as the education of African youths was transferred from the Department of Education to the Department of Native Affairs; thus Bantu Education was officially inaugurated. The administration of all private, church and public schools for Africans was placed under the legal direction of Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs since 1950. Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, as Chairman of the Bantu Education Commission, 1949, devised the colour bar educational scheme that was consistent with the Government policy of legal racial discrimination. Under the Department of Education, the missionaries of various religious denominations had freely operated schools for non-whites. Now these same church schools would be administered according to Government policy or lose their Government funds and accreditation. Education for the African and Coloured would now be supervised by the State via local community boards. All educational institutions would have to be registered and their syllabi approved by the Minister of Native Affairs. Bantu Education would not only be a segregated education, but it would be a special type of education designed to prepare the African for his "place" in society.

President General of the ANC, Congressman A. J. Lutuli, had requested that the National Executive Committee convene in late January 1955 to map strategy for dealing with the Bantu Education Act.¹

¹Secretary of the ANC, Natal Province, to the Secretariate of the ANC, 31 January 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 24, LC.

This meeting occurred in Durban on 5 March 1955. It was decided at that time to call a Conference of Organisations Opposed to the Act.¹ This special conference was held in Port Elizabeth, 9 April 1955, under the auspices of the ANC. Resolutions were passed to support the decision made by the National Conference of the ANC, December 1954,² at which time Congressman Oliver R. Tambo, Acting Secretary for the National Secretariate of the ANC and co-founder of the ANC Youth League, had implied a boycott of Bantu Education might be forthcoming.³ Africans in Alexandra Township on the following day complained bitterly that their right to teach their children was being preempted by the legal racial discriminatory enactments of the Nationalist government.⁴

Withdrawal of African children from the schools seemed to be the only feasible alternative.⁵ The special Port Elizabeth conference ended on 10 April 1955; delegates representing the multiracial Congress Alliance established a National Education Council to devise educational and cultural activities for those children who would be affected by the

¹National Executive Committee of the ANC, to Dr. A. Letel, 24 February 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

²Resolutions adopted at the Conference of Organisations Opposed to the Bantu Education Act, Port Elizabeth, 9-10 April 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

³O. R. Tambo, Secretary General of the ANC, to All Provincial Secretaries of the ANC, 1 January 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 10, LC.

⁴Copy of notes made by N/D/Constable Solomon Dunga at a Meeting of the ANC, Alexandra Township, 10 April 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 18, LC.

⁵"Bantu Education Conference Report," Counter Attack, 18 April 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 12, LC.

proposed boycott.¹ Private schools, home education and cultural clubs were considered as possible alternatives to Bantu Education.² The boycott of Bantu Education got under way on 12 April 1955. African children were withdrawn from schools in Alexandra, Benoni, Brakpan, and Germiston.³ The Western Areas of Moroka, Jabavu, and Johannesburg immediately followed with mass withdrawals of African children from Government controlled schools.⁴ Thousands of children were involved in the boycott and many schools were completely closed.⁵ On 15 April 1955, Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, ordered the children to return to the schools at once. They did not comply. After the Verwoerd ultimatum, the new Strijdom Government (December 1954) ordered mounted police and foot patrols into the African locations to force the youths to return to school. Parents were arrested who did not comply with the directives of the police. Sheer Government force limited the boycott.⁶ The coercive power of the State was used to

¹"The African Education Movement," Conference of Organisations Opposed to the Bantu Education Act, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 10, LC.

²Congress Voice, Spring 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 10, LC.

³Press statement on Bantu Education issued by the ANC, Spring 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

⁴"Bantu Education Boycott Spreads," leaflet, Spring 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

⁵"Our Clubs Depend on You," The Lodestar, Spring 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

⁶"African Children on Strike Against Education for Ignorance," 26 April 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

frighten the "rebels" and "troublemakers" into passivity and compliance. Given the fact that Feit¹ did not consider the impact of blatant government oppression, extensive multiracial cooperation, both domestically and internationally around the issues, and his insufficient documentation of the participant's point of view, his analysis of the Western Areas Removals and Bantu Education campaigns must be considered terribly inadequate and of little scholarly value.

As the anti-government Congress Alliance protested the Bantu Education Act, they were also being represented at the Africa-Asia Conference, 18 April 1955, assembled in Bandung, Indonesia, to discuss colonialism, imperialism, and racialism. The representatives, Congressmen Moses Kotane, leading member of the ANC and former General Secretary of the SACP, and Maulvi Cachalia, elder brother of Congressman Yusuf A. Cachalia, Deputy Volunteer-in-Chief of the Defiance Campaign and an active member of the SAIC, had travelled without passports due to the refusal of the Strijdom government to grant them. The ANC, SAIC, and SACOD expressed firmly their opinion that race prejudice, colour discrimination, and racial oppression sprang from the political and economic dictates of colonialism and imperialism.² Congressman Dr. Y. Dadoo, President of the SAIC, was more explicit:

¹Feit, African Opposition in South Africa: The Failure of Passive Resistance.

²"Kotane and Cachalia for Asia-African Conference," New Age, 7 April 1955, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

The herrenvolk Police state of Strijdom assumes an important role in the war plans of United States imperialism and its satellites, the Western powers. 1

Congressman Dadoo implied that uranium, gold, and other strategic minerals would be manipulated by the Nationalists to silence their democratic critics in the West and to defer indefinitely multiracial democracy in South Africa.

Congressmen Kotane and Cachalia were granted observer status at the conference and presented the delegates a memorandum on the plight of people of colour in South Africa.² Reacting to their report, Indian Prime Minister Nehru stated:

I challenge every country in the world to give its opinion unequivocally on the naked racial persecution being perpetrated by the capitalist White Government of South Africa on African and Indian people there. . . . Let the South African Government forget about communism and anti-communism and learn some decency. 3

Clearly, apartheid was a totalitarian ideology, fundamentally oppressive, historically cruel, and grossly inconsistent with individual freedom and human rights.

On the domestic front, the multiracial Congress Alliance continued to be active. On 26 April 1955, the Joint Executive Committee of the ANC, SACPO, SACOD, and SAIC agreed to assist the FSAW

¹"Kotane and Cachalia for Asia-African Conference, " New Age, 7 April 1955, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

²"Kotane and Cachalia Arrive for Asia-African Conference (Present Report on "S. A. Slave State"), " New Age, 21 April 1955, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

³Ibid.

in sponsoring a South African Congress of Mothers to speak out against racial persecution.¹ The SACTU established local committees in Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Port Elizabeth. Organising the workers in these areas was a very slow and often unrewarding enterprise. Encouraging new trade unions to join the SACTU was equally difficult. Therefore, the SACTU launched a campaign to reach the workers. For May Day 1955, ten thousand leaflets were issued, but general response from the workers was meager and disappointing. Congresswoman Ruth First, a member of the Executive Committee of the SAPC, addressed a May Day rally sponsored by the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions. In her speech, she underscored the common interests shared by the Peace Council and the trade union movement, namely, that the long-term security of the working class was contingent upon a stable and peaceful community.² A major victory for multiorganisational political cooperation occurred after Congresswoman Ruth First's speech. On 8 May 1955, the militant African trade union, the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions voted to become affiliated with the SACTU.³ This substantial influx of new workers and trade unions injected fresh vigor and optimism

¹Minutes of the Joint Executive Committee: ANC, SACPO, SACOD, and SAIC, 26 April 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 7, LC.

²Workers Unity, June 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

³Report issued at the 1st Annual National Conference of the SACTU, 1-4 March 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reels 1 and 20, LC.

into the Congress Alliance on the eve of the Congress of the People.

The Executive Committee of the SAPC increased its political activity in May. In a letter addressed to the ANC-Transvaal, Congressman Leon Levy, Secretary of the SAPC, requested greater ANC participation in peace programmes. Recounting their past role in Congress Alliance activities, Congressman Levy referred to the ANC's numerical strength as the "backbone" of the peace movement in South Africa.¹ Responding to a similar appeal from Congressman Levy, the TIYC's Joint Honourable Secretaries, Congressmen Esakjee and Moola, reemphasised their commitment to multiorganisational political solidarity in the struggle.²

During the week of 22 May 1955, Congressman Rev. D. C. Thompson, President of the SAPC and Chairman of the SASPFSU, called upon the anti-government Congress Alliance to assist in organising a petition campaign supporting world peace and indicting the continuous production of atomic weapons.³

The TIYC also held its tenth annual meeting on 15 May 1955. In Johannesburg, the conference was formally opened by Dr. N. W. Padyachee, a senior Vice President of the NIC, Manilal Gandhi, son of

¹Leon Levy, Secretary of the SAPC, to the Provincial Secretary of the ANC-Transvaal, 25 May 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

²S. Esakjee and M. Moola, Joint Honourable Secretaries of the TIYC, to the Secretary of the SAPC, 27 May 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

³"Peace Week, 14-22 May 1955," The Call, May 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 10, LC.

the great Mohandas K. Gandhi, sent a message of support to the rally.¹ Congressman Padyachee's remarks and those of Congressman Dr. G. M. Naicker (delivered in absentia) as well, centered on individual freedoms and civil, political and economic rights,² a theme which had been stressed earlier at May Day activities by the TIYC leadership.³ At this meeting, Congressman Dr. Y. M. Dadoo was reelected to the office of President of the TIYC. Congressmen Paul Joseph and A. M. Kathrada were reelected as executive officers, though both were under banning orders by the Minister of Justice, C. R. Swart.⁴

During May 1955, the ANC also focused upon Congress Alliance priorities - the Bantu Education Act,⁵ the Congress of the People,⁶ and the Freedom Charter.⁷ On 29 May 1955, the Transvaal ANC Youth League convened its twelfth annual conference in Sophiatown. Congressman Robert M. Resha, President of the ANC Youth League,

¹Press statement issued by the TIYC, 20 May 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

²Speech of Dr. G. M. Naicker, Acting President of the SAIC, delivered in absentia at the Opening of the 10th Annual General Meeting of the TIYC, 15 May 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

³"May Day Message," issued by the TIYC, May 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

⁴New Youth, June 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

⁵Copy of Notes made by N/D/Sergeant Johan Tabete, South African Divisional Headquarters, at a Meeting of ANC, Jabavu, 15-16 May 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 6, LC.

⁶Copy of notes made by N/D/Constable Solomon Dunga, South African Divisional Headquarters, at a Meeting of the ANC, Alexandra Township, 29 May 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 18, LC.

⁷*Ibid.*

called on the youth to intensify its political activities. Congressman E. P. Moretsele, President of the Transvaal ANC, called for greater cooperation between African and Indian youths.¹ The conference pledged to support uncompromisingly the Resist Apartheid Campaigns² and resolved to strengthen the peace initiatives of the Congress Alliance.³

The FSAW was also seeking greater support from the members of the multiorganisational Congress Alliance. The SACPO and the SACOD were asked to affiliate with the women's organisation on 23 May 1955. The FSAW contended that if women of all races banded together in cooperative political enterprises, the anti-government Congress would be greatly strengthened and it would "hasten the day the people of South Africa will free themselves of race and class oppression."⁴ The FSAW linked the emancipation of the African, Coloured, and Indian people to the liberation of women.

Multiorganisational political cooperation was further expanded when the SACOD invited the SACPO⁵ to take part in their national

¹"A Resume of the Conference of the ANCYL-Transvaal, 29 May 1955," African Lodestar, May 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

²Executive Report to the 12th Provincial Conference of the ANCYL-Transvaal, 29 May 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 7, LC. See also Chief Albert Lutuli's "Resist Apartheid" address delivered 11 July 1954, in South African Studies 3, The Road to Freedom is Via the Cross (London, n. d.), pp. 24-26.

³"Resolutions adopted at the 12th Annual Conference of the ANCYL-Transvaal, 29 May 1955," African Lodestar, May 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

⁴National Executive Committee of the FSAW, to the Secretary General of the SACPO, 23 May 1955, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

conference to be held 24 June 1955. The Western Cape Region of the SACPO was under the strong leadership of Congressman George Peake, Chairman, and Congressmen Alex LaGuma, Vice President, and Reginald September, Treasurer.¹ Congressman Dr. H. M. Moosa, Secretary of the SAIC, committed his organisation to the SACOD's conference² as did President General of the ANC, Congressman Albert J. Lutuli.³ At this conference, the SACOD reviewed the political agenda of the Congress Alliance.⁴ It was rightly concluded that insufficient progress had been made in reaching the broader South African community with the Congress Alliance's political programme of egalitarianism.⁵

⁵ Letter to the SACPO, 2 June 1955, CKC, Reel 7B, CRL.

¹ "Successful SACPO will Boycott Coloured Affairs Department," New Age, 19 May 1955, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

² Dr. H. M. Moosa, Secretary of the SAIC, to the Secretary of the SACOD, 16 June 1955, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

³ National Secretary of the SACOD, to the Secretary of the ANC-Johannesburg, 20 June 1955, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

⁴ Chairman's Report to the 1st Annual Conference of the SACOD, 24 June 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 12, LC.

⁵ Organisational Report to the National Conference of the SACOD, 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 12, LC.

CHAPTER VI

THE COALITION'S LAST CAMPAIGN

After many months of intensive planning, the Congress of the People was officially opened by Father Trevor Huddleston with 2,884 delegates in attendance: 2,196 Africans, 320 Indians, 230 Coloureds, 112 Europeans; 721 women and 2,163 men.¹ Messages of support were read from all over the world. Chou En Lai, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China stated:

The Asian-African Conference has solemnly condemned colonialism and racial discrimination. The Chinese people together with the peoples of other Asian and African Countries and the peoples of the whole world will continue to support the just struggle waged by the people of South Africa.²

African-American political activists, Paul Robeson and W. E. B. DuBois, again lent their support to the struggle for multiracial equality under law.³ Canon John L. Collins called for Christian justice to prevail.⁴ President General of the ANC, Congressman A. J. Lutuli (in absentia), and his loyal friend, Congressman M. B. Yengwa, Secretary of the Natal ANC, called for nonracial democracy in South Africa.⁵ After the

¹Report of the Credentials Committee of the COP, 25-26 June 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

²Messages presented to the COP, 25-26 June 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Joint Message to the COP of South Africa, 25-26 June 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 24, LC.

opening messages of goodwill and support, the first order of business was to award the new, prestigious title of ISITWALANDWE to Father Trevor Huddleston, Dr. Dadoo, and Chief Lutuli (in absentia). (Bishop Ambrose Reeves was recipient of this award in 1980.) This title signified the highest honour that could be bestowed upon a great man in Xhosa society who distinguished himself courageously and honourably in national service or war. The second order of business was the Freedom Charter.¹ This compilation of grievances, demands and aspirations of the grass roots populace represented the Congress Alliance's multiracial egalitarian manifesto for political, civil, economic rights, and human rights. The anti-government Congress Alliance felt that the Freedom Charter laid the foundation for egalitarian democracy in South Africa's society, for it was an expression of the "deep yearning for security and human dignity of a people."² Congressman Nelson Mandela felt that the

. . . adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress of the People was widely recognized both at home and abroad as an event of major political significance in the life of this country The COP was the most spectacular and moving demonstration this country has ever seen. . . proof that (the people) have the ability and the power to triumph over every obstacle and win the future of their dreams. 3

Once the Freedom Charter was endorsed, clause by clause, by the

¹ See Appendix D.

² Lutuli, Let My People Go, p. 142.

³ Mandela, No Easy Walk to Freedom, p. 55.

delegates, ratification of the Freedom Charter by the people of South Africa became the major priority of each organisation that participated in the Kliptown Congress.¹ A million signatures would be needed for ratification; presumably, the Government would have to respond positively by changing many of the legal racial discriminatory enactments if enough political pressure could be applied.

On 26 June 1955, hundreds of police officers armed with stenguns, bayonets, and rifles interrupted the peaceful assembly under the orders of Major H. C. Muller, District Commander of Police, to find incriminating evidence to support a charge of high treason. The police searched the delegates, recorded their names and addresses, and seized documents.² Congressman Pieter Beyleveld, National Organiser of the COP, was speaking at the moment of disruption. He and Congresswoman Helen Joseph repeatedly urged the delegates to show restraint and control in the face of this provocative Government action. The loss of human life was averted by the Congress Alliance's strict adherence to the policy of nonviolence; the actions of police did not dysfunctionalise the Congress Alliance.

Meeting in Johannesburg the same day, the National Executive Committee of the SACTU resolved to endorse the Freedom Charter and to affiliate with the communist World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).³ The COP had presented the SACTU with an opportunity to

¹Resolution adopted at the COP, 25-26 June 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

²Freedom Charter, "New Age, 30 June 1955, CKC, Reel 14, LC.

³Workers' Unity, vol. 1, no. 3, July 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

politicise and unionise a wide spectrum of workers of colour ranging from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector of the labour force. The SACTU advocated economic rights for the working class, irrespective of race, religion, or political persuasion.¹ This platform simultaneously reinforced the policies of the anti-government Congress Alliance and broadened the base of the trade union movement. The majority of South Africa's work force lacked democratic rights; they could not strike for higher wages to improve their social and economic status. Enactments such as the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill and the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Act were undemocratic and reflected the anti-labour bias of the South African lawmakers. These hostile enactments denied the people of colour their right of free association and collective bargaining.

Before the police disrupted the COP, the multiorganisational Congress Alliance inscribed into the Freedom Charter a clause stating "there shall be peace and friendship." Further, the multiracial, political delegation of the COP wired a telegram to the World Peace Assembly which was being held in Helsinki, Finland, proclaiming its full support for Professor Joliot-Curie, the French atomic physicist and President of the World Peace Council.² Professor Joliot-Curie had called for the banning of nuclear weapons. The anti-government

¹Workers' Unity, vol. 1, no. 2, June 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

²Hilda Watts, "The People Make the Laws," Workers' Unity, vol. 1, no. 3, July 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 10, LC.

Congress Alliance reiterated its commitment to nonviolence as a means of settling local and international disputes. Congresswoman Tamara Baker attended the World Peace Council as the FSAW delegate. On 26 June 1955, the FSAW sent word that it, too, joined the World Peace Council in advocating peace, friendship, and equality between men and women of all nations.¹

The World Peace Council was followed by the convening of the World Congress of Mothers in Lausanne, Switzerland, 1 July 1955. The FSAW was represented at this meeting by its National President, Congresswoman Gladys Smith, and Vice President, Congresswoman Lilian Ngoyi.² The Vice President presented a paper which outlined living conditions for a significant number of South African women and children:

The majority of women live in shanties; one room serves as a bedroom, bath, kitchen, dining and sitting room; as women you can picture the condition of the children, they die before they see the sun shine of disease that can be prevented. . . . Our children have never had compulsory education. Only 35 % of our children go to school. . . . 3

Approximately 1,051, 858 non-white children attended Bantu schools⁴

¹Meeting of Congress of Mothers, 7 August 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 16, LC.

²Counter Attack, August 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 12, LC.

³Report of the World Congress of Mothers, Lausanne, Switzerland, 1 July 1955, Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi was Vice President of the FSAW, as well as the President of the ANCWL, and the Treasurer of the Non-European Council of Trade Unions. Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

⁴"The Workers and Education," Workers' Unity, vol. 1, no. 3, July 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 10, LC.

out of a total non-white population of nearly nine million. Clearly, social life for non-whites was in dire need of progressive reform. The FSAW held its first regional meeting in the Transvaal on 4 July 1955. The women committed themselves to the liberation of women and children, and stressed their determination to continue the fight against Bantu Education and other forms of legal racial discrimination.¹

The Bantu Education Boycott remained a concern of the anti-government Congress Alliance. In late June 1955, the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation notified the Acting President General of the ANC, Professor Z. K. Matthews (Lutuli had been banned), that it wished an audience with the National Executive Committee of the ANC to discuss the problems stemming from the Bantu Education boycott - sporadic action and lack of centralised leadership or viable alternatives. The Secretary General of the Ministers' Federation, Rev. A. L. Mncube, stated grimly that "unless this meeting could be called soon, we shall find ourselves fighting against each other as it is evident in other centres."² On 27 June 1955, Acting

¹ Counter Attack, July 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

² The Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, to Professor Z. K. Matthews, Acting President General of the ANC, June 1955. The letter included a list of officers: President, Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, Orange Free State; Vice President, Rev. James A. Calata, Cape Province; Secretary General, Rev. A. L. Mncube, Cape Province; Assistant Secretary, Rev. A. A. Tsekeletsa, Port Elizabeth; Treasurer, Rev. S. S. Tema, Pretoria; Assistant Treasurer, Rev. J. Lithako, Bloemfontein. Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

President Matthews advising the Acting Secretary General of the ANC, Congressman Oliver R. Tambo, of the matter. He recommended that Congressman Tambo consult President General Lutuli as soon as possible.¹ The National Executive Committee was contacted on 14 July 1955 in reference to an Executive Officers' meeting of the ANC to be convened on 30 July 1955 in Groutville, Natal.² Congressman Oliver Tambo, a law partner of Congressman Nelson Mandela and Acting Secretary General of the ANC, informed the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation on 15 July 1955, that President General Lutuli would meet with their deputation in Groutville at that time.³

Bantu Education was also a concern of the SAIC at their Durban conference, 30 July 1955. Some schools had been closed and others had been opened without an overall strategy being developed during the Bantu Education boycott. For example, schools in Germiston were opened without ANC approval, and Father Huddleston had opened cultural clubs in Johannesburg on his own initiative. The SAIC expressed a sense of general confusion over the implementation of the Congress Alliance's policy on Bantu Education, but articulated a

¹ Z. K. Matthews, Acting President General of the ANC to O. R. Tambo, Secretary of the ANC-Cape, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

² Robert M. Resha, for Secretariate of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, to Members of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, 14 July 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 20, LC.

³ O. R. Tambo, Acting Secretary General of the ANC, to the Secretary of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, 15 July 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

desire for clarification to permit more effective participation.¹ At this meeting, Congressmen Dr. Moosa and Mr. Patel, executive officers of the SAIC, were elected by their Congress to represent the Indian community on the National Consultative Committee. The SAIC also endorsed the Freedom Charter at this conference.²

The following day, 31 July, the Joint Executives of the multi-racial Congress Alliance held a special meeting in Natal to develop joint strategies and a programme of action to collect a million signatures and to popularise the Freedom Charter which had been unanimously adopted a month earlier by the thousands of delegates at the Kliptown Congress as an explicit democratic expression of the wishes and hopes of the people of South Africa for liberty, freedom, political, civil, economic, and human rights.³ This political decision denoted the seventh stage in the historical development of the anti-government Congress Alliance.

Congresswoman Helen Joseph, Secretary of the FSAW, Transvaal, informed members of the Congress Alliance that the Transvaal Congress of Mothers would convene a conference on 7 August 1955 in Johannesburg with Congresswoman Rahima Moosa as the presiding officer.⁴ At this

¹Minutes of the SAIC, Durban, 30 July 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

²Ibid.

³Robert M. Resha, for Secretariate of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, to Members of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, 14 July 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 20, LC.

meeting, Congresswoman Helen Joseph introduced a resolution urging the FSAW to consult with the other members of the Congress Alliance for the purpose of organising a mass deputation of women of all races to converge on Pretoria to protest against the Bantu Education Act. The women's movement viewed the Bantu Education Act as an attempt to wither the minds of the children; yet the boycott kept the children in the streets minus the benefits of any education. Congresswoman Joseph's resolution was unanimously adopted as was the resolution to endorse the Freedom Charter.¹ To gather support for the march on Pretoria, the FSAW convened a special meeting of the Transvaal Regional Executive Committee on 27 August 1955.² Executive Officers from the SACTU, SACPO, SAIC, and the ANCWL were present at this meeting. At the insistence of the Acting Secretary General of the ANC, Oliver R. Tambo, the ANCWL requested that the Population Registration Act (Passes) be added to the list of legal racial discriminatory legislation the women planned to protest in Pretoria.³ The concern of the women lay in the rhetorical question: If the father and

⁴Secretary of the FSAW-Transvaal, to the Secretary of the ANC-Transvaal, 25 July 1955, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

¹Meeting of Congress of Mothers, convened by the FSAW, 7 August 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 16, LC.

²Secretary of the FSAW-Transvaal, to the Secretary of the SACPO, 19 August 1955, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

³O. R. Tambo, Acting Secretary General of the ANC, to the Provisional National Secretary of the ANCWL, 23 August 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

mother were to be arrested, what would happen to the child?

As the Congress Alliance was expanding its base with the inclusion of the women's movement and the trade union movement, the apex continued to crumble under the sharp impact of bannings through the Government's enforcement of the Suppression of Communism Act. The bannings were designed to destroy the anti-government Congress Alliance by constantly and consistently removing the small cadre of "current" leaders and key members. Congresswomen Hetty McLeod, executive officer of the FSAW, and Ruth First, executive officer of the SAPC, were banned during this period, as was Congresswoman Rachel (Ray) Alexander, National Secretary of the FSAW.¹ The SACTU was also affected by the banning of Congresswoman Ray Alexander because she was the General Secretary of the Food and Canning Workers Union.

During this crucial period, the Congress Alliance went on record urging all Congressmen and women to organise local trade unions in their communities and to press their employers for a one pound a day minimum wage.² Congressman W. M. Sisulu, praised trade union leaders, Congressmen Pieter Beyleveld and Leslie Masina, for their role in steering the SACTU along an egalitarian course. Congressman Sisulu charged the South African government with orchestrating

¹ "Attack and Counter Attack on the Women's Federation," Workers Unity, vol. 1, no. 4, August 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

² Ibid.

the alienation of white and non-white workers to facilitate the exploitation of resources and labour to further the cause of economic imperialism in South Africa.¹ Job reservation based on race contributed to the imbalanced ratio between white and non-white workers in skilled jobs, for example:

1. Eighty-two percent of all workers in South African commerce, industry, agriculture, and fisheries are Non-European;
2. Something like sixteen percent of the skilled labour and sixty-seven percent of the semi-skilled labour in industry is Non-European;
3. Out of just over four million persons employed in industry, commerce, mining, agriculture, and fishing, 3,500,000 are Non-European;
4. There are 750,000 Non-Europeans in industry and commerce including the railways; 500,000 in mining, and 2,250,000 in agriculture and fishing;
5. Of the nearly 200,000 employees of the railways, half are Non-Europeans;
6. Of the 115,000 posts in the public service, eighteen thousand are classified as Non-Europeans;
7. Nearly half of the police, sixty percent of the Department of Native Affairs and half of the Union Health Department are Non-Europeans.²

This breakdown indicates that between skilled and non-skilled categories, white and non-white percentages were drastically out of proportion.

¹W. M. Sisulu, "The Alliance of the Trade Union and Liberatory Movements in Africa," Workers' Unity, vol. 1, no. 4, August 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

²These figures can be found in the United Nations, General Assembly, 9th Session, 1954, Second Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa Supplement No. 16 (Document A/2719), p. 36.

The negative correlation between a cheap, depressed, politically powerless labour force of colour and stark, legal racial discrimination can not be overstated, certainly where racial alienation was promoted by industrial legislation. Clearly, the capitalist economic system was corrupted by legal racial discrimination in South Africa because it prohibited the non-whites from freely competing in the marketplace. For example, the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act and the Industrial Conciliation Act, more commonly known as the Schoeman Bills¹ severely curtailed the workers' democratic right to organise, to assemble, to picket, to bargain collectively, and to strike.² Congressman Moses Kotane, executive officer of the ANC, maintained that the Schoeman Labour Laws were a legal device to "smash free trade unionism among workers of all races."³ Minister of Labour Schoeman fully substantiated Congressmen Sisulu's and Kotane's charges. He wanted "the native trade unions to disappear. . . . This is a matter of principle in regard to which there can be no compromise."⁴ The full impact of discriminatory industrial legislation on the workers' democratic right was far-reaching: trade unions were not registered

¹Workers' Unity, vol. 1, no. 4, August 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 3, LC.

²"Workers' Rights," policy statement issued by the SACTU, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

³Moses Kotane, "South African's Way Forward," an Advance Study Document, May 1954, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

⁴United Nations, General Assembly, 9th Session, 1954, Second Report of the United Nations Commission of the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement No. 16 (Document A/2719), p. 11.

without the consent of the Minister of Labour; unions were segregated; job reservations were based on race; trade unions which had a racially mixed membership were to maintain separate racial branches, and all executive positions were to be held by Europeans; unions were not to be politically active; African trade unions were "legal" but powerless, controlled by the Department of Native Affairs; Africans were not legally designated as 'employees', hence, they were denied their democratic rights with impunity.¹

As the SACTU was struggling against Minister of Labour B. J. Schoeman's discriminatory economic legislation, the SACPO was confronting Minister of Interior T. E. Donges' Population Registration Act under which hundreds of Coloured workers were being reclassified as Africans, and thereby often losing skilled and semi-skilled jobs. On 16 August 1955, the Secretary of the Transvaal Region of the SACPO, Congressman Stanley Lollan, notified executive officer, Congressman George Peake, of the urgent need for the Coloured community to launch a campaign of mass action against the Population Registration Act.² The Executive Committee of the SACPO informed the member organisations of the Congress Alliance of a mass protest meeting to be convened on 21 August 1955. The SACOD was requested to send

¹United Nations, General Assembly, 9th Session, 1954, Second Report of the United Nations Commission of the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Supplement No. 16, (Document A/2719), p. 11

²Stanley Lollan, Secretary of the SACPO, Transvaal, to George Peak, 16 August 1955, CKC, Reel 7B, CRL.

Congresswoman Helen Joseph as a fraternal speaker to address the assembly.¹ The Coloured people did not wish to carry passes nor did they wish to be reclassified as Africans under the Population registration Act. Government officials were intensely questioning the Coloured people of their parentage, forcing them to undergo insensitive physical examinations of their facial structures and the texture of their hair to determine if there was African blood in their veins. If the Government discovered an African or Coloured 'crossing' the colour line, this individual was forced to remove his children from the Coloured or European schools; he was evicted from the Coloured or European living areas; his job classification was revised; and the family unit was shattered with sisters and brothers, mothers and fathers being separated. Arbitrary decisions by Government officials created a major crisis for the Coloured people, compromising their jobs, their opportunities for upward mobility, their families and their lives.² At a mass protest rally on 21 August 1955, the SACPO called for the anti-government Congress Alliance to hold an emergency conference, 10 September 1955, to "conceive and carry out an agreed campaign" against the unjust enforcement of the Population Registration Act.³ The reclassification of the Coloured people sparked

¹ Stanley Lollan, Secretary of the SACPO, Transvaal, to the Secretary of the SACOD, 18 August 1955, CKC, Reel 7B, CRL.

² Stanley Lollan, Secretary of the SACPO, Transvaal, to All Regional Organisations of the SACPO, 31 August 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

³ Stanley Lollan, Secretary of the SACPO, Transvaal, to Organisations Requested to Send Delegates to an Emergency Conference on 10 September 1955, 31 August 1955, CKC, Reel 7B, CRL.

a modest nonviolent protest action in the Transvaal and the Cape Western Region.¹ The Congress Alliance initiated a campaign to protest the Population Registration Act; mass meetings were held and the attention of the press was focused upon the problem. As a result, the Government temporarily softened its "attack" on the Coloured people.²

Concurrently, the National Consultative Committee of the ANC, SAIC, SACOD, and SACPO notified Congressmen George Peake and Reginald September, trade unionists and executive officers of the SACPO, that a committee consisting of two members from each organisation was to be established locally, provincially, and nationally in accordance with the plans outlined for the signature campaign.³ Congressman Stanley Lollan, activist and Secretary of the Transvaal SACPO, had represented the SACPO at the National Executive Meeting, 31 July 1955, where the formal Committee membership had been adopted.⁴ Congressmen Peake and September replied favorably on 17 September 1955, "We wish to state that we are in agreement with the directives. . . ."⁵ The SACPO participated in the mass conferences

¹Stanley Lollan, Secretary of the SACPO, Transvaal, to the General Secretary, R. September, SACPO, 29 August 1955, CKC, Reel 7B, CRL.

²Ben Giles, "Trade Unions - Yess - and Congress, Too!" Workers' Unity, vol. 1, no. 4, August 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

³A. Patel and R. Resha, Joint Secretaries of the National Consultative Committee of the ANC, SAIC, SACOD, and SACPO, to

held, 18 September 1955, in the Cape and the Transvaal to kick-off the Million Signature Campaign for ratification of the Freedom Charter. The object of these mass rallies was to involve the people¹ of the various regions² and locations in the struggle for socio-political change. Copies of the Freedom Charter had been distributed in three vernacular languages and English.³ As a legitimate document of human idealism, the Freedom Charter compared quite favorably with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, particularly the first clause, "The People Shall Govern. . . . The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour, or sex."⁴ This clause was unsurpassed as a principle of liberty and individual freedom. However, egalitarian democracy was, in South Africa, a revolutionary political ideal, and reactionary opposition to racial integration was sharp. In a letter to Congressman Dr. Y. Dadoo, Congressman Chief A. J. Lutuli emphasised the point:

All Regional Committees, 2 September 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 10, LC.

⁴ Stanley Lollan, Secretary of the SACPO, Transvaal, to the General Secretary, R. September, SACPO, 29 August 1955, CKC, Reel 7B, CRL.

⁵ George Peake and R. September, to the Secretary of the National Consultative Committee, 17 September 1955, CKC, Reel 7B, CRL.

¹ Letter from the SACOD, to B. Turok, 9 September 1955, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

² Letter from the SACOD, to Piet Vogel, 6 September 1955, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

We know that those who directly or indirectly support the maintenance of the status quo will subject us to untold brutality, slander, and abuse.

In their efforts to fulfill basskap apartheid policy the Nationalist party supported by supporters of their policy will unleash against us in all fury and ferocity all deadly and diabolic measures in an effort to cow down to submission the masses of the oppressed people.

"May our courage rise with danger." 1

The multiracial Coalition sought ratification of the Freedom Charter for a variety of reasons. The people's grievances impelled men and women of social conscience to act on their behalf. The people were forced by law to live in the filthy slums of Vrededorp, Cato Manor, District Six, Tsolo, Jabavu, Moroka, and to work on the large jail farms like Bellville in the Western Cape, Bethal in the Eastern Transvaal, and Welkom in the Orange Free State. The people of colour worked and dwelt in these severely over-crowded, unsanitary locations amidst unchecked disease and rising social ills. Non-whites attempted to rear their children on barren reservations, bare veld, and mountain slopes. The people of colour were forced to live behind the barbed wire fences of segregated Reserves. Non-white children suffering from malnutrition, protein deficiency, lived and died in squalor while privileged European children grew strong and healthy. Custom, law, and legal racial discriminatory legislation rationalised that non-whites

³ Secretary of the SACOD, to Dr. M. Hawthorne, 6 September 1955, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

⁴ "Congress of the People Campaign and the Freedom Charter, Its Description and History," CKC, Reel 5B, CRL.

¹ Chief Albert J. Lutuli, to Dr. Yusuf M. Dadoo, 2 September 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 15, LC.

were poverty-stricken because they were lazy, shiftless, and an inferior species.¹

This was but one set of reasons to ratify the Freedom Charter; there were many others. To make the Freedom Charter a "living document," the multiracial political coalition launched a multiorganisational drive for a million signatures from all over the country:²

Transvaal	450,000
Cape Province	350,000
Natal	150,000
Orange Free State	50,000
	<u>1,000,000</u> (3)

In the face of Government oppression, injustice and racialism, the Freedom Charter was clearly a milestone in the human struggle for democracy, individual freedom and multiracial equality under law in South Africa.

John K. Nkadimeng, Secretary of the Transvaal SACTU, executive officer of the Transvaal ANC, trade unionist and activist, notified the Transvaal ANC of the need for increasing multiorganisational cooperation between the Trade Union movement and the Congress movement.⁴

¹"Freedom Charter," Forward to Freedom, vol. 1, no. 1, 12 October 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

²Forward to Freedom, vol. 1, no. 2, 24 November 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

³Congress Voice, November 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 4, LC.

⁴J, Nkadimeng, Secretary of the SACTU, to the Provincial Secretary of the ANC-Johannesburg, 1 September 1955, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

The SACTU was promoting its National School to be held on 12 September 1955 in Johannesburg.¹ Using a series of lectures prepared by the Management Committee of the SACTU, the trade union movement planned to educate masses of unorganised workers into acceptance of their programmes.² The study course consisted of the following themes:

1. Our Modern Society and How It Arose
2. Short History of the International Trade Union Movements
3. What Are Trade Unions?
4. Trade Unions in the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa
5. Trade Unions as a Weapon in the Struggle of the Workers
6. Workers' Solidarity
7. Problems of South African Trade Union Movement
8. How to Organise Unorganised Workers
9. Relationship Between Workers and Their Unions: Organisation at the Factory
10. Relationship Between Workers and Their Unions

The overriding theme of each lecture was the need for greater solidarity between the European and the Non-White worker. Workers' solidarity would protect them both from the negative aspect of South African capitalism: namely, the "ruthless exploitation" of the unorganised, unprotected worker.³ The Non-White worker had no voice, vote, or control over his economic life. He was politically and economically subordinate to the State. A handful of the white South African population held a tight monopoly on all state power, industry, finance, and capital.

¹Leslie Masina, General Secretary of the SACTU, to Affiliated Trade Unions, 19 July 1955, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

²A set of lectures prepared for a trade union school organised by the Management Committee of the SACTU, and conducted in September 1955, Johannesburg, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

³Leslie Masina, General Secretary to all National Executive Committee Members, All Local Committees, and All Affiliated Trade Unions, 3 August 1955, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

During the week of 27 September 1955, Congressman Leslie Masina officially notified the Congress Alliance's executive membership that the South African police had raided the offices of the Congress Alliance and homes of leading members to confiscate any documents that could be considered "treasonous."¹ An immediate protest, led by Congressman O. R. Tambo, Acting Secretary General of the ANC, was made to the Minister of Justice, C. R. Swart.² The Congress Alliance

. . . warned that the raids, which invaded privacy of hundreds of citizens of all races in their homes, offices and schools, are a most serious manifestation of the growth of the police state....³

From the perspective of the multiracial Congress Alliance, the Criminal Investigation Department, with the full consent of the Minister of Justice, C. R. Swart, was employing legal force to stifle its legitimate right to oppose the policy of apartheid. For example, the Government had banned meetings of ten or more people in the Reserves. Newspapers sympathetic to the Congress Alliance (Advance and Guardian) were banned; duly elected representatives of the people who were members of the Congress Alliance (Kahn, Bunting, and Alexander) were denied their rightful seats in Parliament simply because the Minister of Justice disagreed with their politics.

¹ Leslie Masina, General Secretary of the SACTU, to All Executive Committee Members, 3 October 1955, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

² O. R. Tambo, Acting Secretary General of the ANC, to Provincial Secretaries, 30 September 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

³ "Congress Movement Denounces Swart's Raid," New Age, 6 October 1955, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

In the name of anti-communism and democracy, the South African government continued to commit unreasonable searches and seizures; it denied members of the multiorganisational Coalition the right of free speech, press and assembly; it violated the civil liberties and the political will of the people. In South Africa, democracy did not mean equality under law; it did not mean government by the consent of the governed; it did not mean majority rule. It meant territorial and political segregation¹ and white supremacy. Apartheid was a negation of democracy.² The South African government proclaimed democracy and practised mass political, economic and social inequality. By contrast, the multiracial political Coalition declared, in the Freedom Charter, that all the people of South Africa had certain civil, political and human rights and liberties that could not be infringed upon, impaired, or denied by the racialism of the Government.³

Freedom of movement was a human right that was denied the Non-White by the Pass Laws. The Congress Alliance continued to protest this abridgment of fundamental human rights. On 20 October 1955, a small protest rally occurred in Durban (Cato Manor) to exhort and to prepare the women for a dramatic march against the pass system being extended to women. One week later, 27 October, Congresswoman

¹Edgar H. Brookes, Apartheid: A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa (London, 1968), pp. 1-17.

²"Nats Terrified by Freedom Charter," New Age, 27 October 1955, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

³"Congress of the People Campaign and the Freedom Charter, Its Description and History," A report by the Executive Committee of the COP, CKC, Reel 5B, CRL.

Lilian Ngoyi, President of the ANC Women's League and Vice President of the FSAW; Helen Joseph, Secretary of the Transvaal FSAW and executive officer of the SACOD; Rahima Moosa, executive officer of the TIC; Sophia Williams, executive officer and organiser of the SACPO; and Bertha Mashaba, executive officer of the ANC Women's League, led the first women's protest march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria.¹ This mass action by the mothers represented the eighth stage in the development of the Congress Alliance. Nearly two thousand women of all races registered their grievances against the anti-democratic pass system being extended to African women. The Population Registration Act, the Abolition of Pass and Coordination of Documents Act, and the Reference Book were components of the pass system which was a device to control and monitor the movement and the labour of the people. Such documents contained the name, address, photograph, registration number, tribal origin, tax receipts, service contracts, permits to look for work or refusal of permits, and several others relating to labour services on farms. If any one of these documents was not immediately produced on demand, or if any one of them was not in perfect order, the person was liable to arrest and criminal prosecution.² The women of the multiracial political Coalition left signed petitions protesting the extension of passes to women at the

¹ Helen Joseph, Tomorrow's Sun: A Smuggled Journal from South Africa (New York, 1967), pp. 69-94.

² United Nations, General Assembly, 9th Session, 1954, Second Report of the United Nations Commission of the Racial Situation in the

offices of the Ministers of Native Affairs, Interior, Justice, and Labour.¹ In Durban on 20 November 1955, the Joint Executive Committee resolved to oppose the Population Registration Act and the extension of passes to African women.² Additional mass demonstrations against the pass system occurred in Cape Town on 24 November 1955.³ The women were on solid ground in their opposition to the passes because the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights laid down the principle, "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state" (Article 13).⁴ Because of the coordinated efforts of the multiracial political Coalition, the women's pass demonstrations were a tremendous success.⁵ Joint action between member organisations over this issue⁶ indicated that women's rights were a top priority of each group. It is recalled that sexism was condemned in the first clause of the Freedom Charter.⁷

Union of South Africa Supplement No. 16 (Document A/2719), pp. 30-31.

¹New Age, 27 October 1955, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

²Message from the SACOD concerning the "Basskap Policy," to the 43rd Annual Conference of the ANC, 17-19 December 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

³New Age, 24 November 1955, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

⁴Joyce, The New Politics of Human Rights, p. 240.

⁵Secretary of the FSAW, Transvaal Region, to the Secretary of the TIYC, 21 November 1955, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

⁶Joint Secretaries of the TIYC, to the Secretary of the FSAW, Transvaal Region, 9 November 1955, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

⁷"Congress of the People Campaign and the Freedom Charter, Its Description and History," A report by the Executive Committee of the COP, CKC, Reel 5B, CRL.

In November 1955, the Nationalist Government intensified its attack on the anti-government Congress Alliance. Congressman John Alwyn of Worcester was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment under the Suppression of Communism Act. The TIYC appealed unsuccessfully to Minister of Justice Swart for amnesty.¹ Additionally, the anti-apartheid Coalition unsuccessfully appealed to the leaders of the Anglican Church and the Community of the Resurrection to rescind their recall of Isitwalandwe Father Trevor Huddleston, C. R., to England. Africans, Coloureds, Indians, and Europeans were dismayed by this blatantly political act. The ANC, SAIC, SACPO, SACOD, and SACTU characterised Huddleston in the following manner:

To some of us Father Huddleston is a man of God, to others, he is a father, a brother, guide and counsellor, but to all of us he is a champion of the oppressed, a fighter for truth and justice. . . . Unlike most Europeans in South Africa who give tacit support by their silence to the actions of the Nationalist Government, Father Huddleston has bravely and uncompromisingly opposed every attack on human rights.²

In a message to the forty-third annual conference of the ANC, Father Huddleston expressed his deep regret at having to leave South Africa and sever his direct contact with the multiracial political Congress Alliance.³

¹ Joint Secretaries of the TIYC, to the Minister of Justice, Honourable C. R. Swart, 18 November 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

² "Let Huddleston Stay," say Congresses, "New Age, 3 November 1955, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

³ Message from Father Trevor Huddleston to the 43rd Annual Conference of the ANC, 17-19 December 1955, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 14, LC.

In late December 1955, the General Secretary of the SACTU, Congressman Leslie Masina, informed all affiliated unions and local committees of its upcoming National Convention to be convened in March 1956.¹ The SACTU was preparing to mount a campaign against the Industrial Conciliation Bill and Congressman Masina outlined a plan to hold public meetings in conjunction with other members of the anti-apartheid Coalition² to protest for the right to strike, to organise trade unions, and the removal of all job restrictions based on race.³

The ANC Youth League's National President, Congressman Robert Resha, opened 1956 focusing upon passes for women.⁴ Congresswoman Helen Joseph, Secretary of the FSAW, also raised the question of passes in a comprehensive article published in a newspaper sympathetic to the multiracial Congress Alliance.⁵ A special joint meeting of the executive officers of the FSAW and the ANC Women's League was convened on 28 January 1956.⁶ It was agreed that a campaign

¹ General Secretary of the SACTU, to All Affiliated Trade Unions and Local Committees, 31 December 1955, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

² General Secretary of the SACTU to Local Committees, 30 December 1955, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

³ "The Industrial Conciliation Act," A paper outlining objections to the Act, SACTU, 1956, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

⁴ Copy of notes made by N/D/Constable P. Mdunga, South African Divisional Headquarters, at a Meeting of the ANC, Sophiatown, 8 January 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 3, LC.

⁵ Helen Joseph, "Women Against Passes," (written 27 October 1955), Fighting Talk, January 1956, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

⁶ Secretary of the FSAW, Transvaal Region, to Members of the Executive Committee of the Transvaal Branches of the FSAW and the ANCWL, 24 January 1956, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

against passes for women would be waged by the anti-apartheid Congress Alliance to educate and mobilise the European, Indian, Coloured, and African women for direct political action.¹ The women's movement had become a substantial political force² with passes for mothers as the catalyst.³

On 25 February 1956, the multiracial Coalition held its farewell conference in Sophiatown to honour Father Huddleston for his dedication to the cause of human rights. Father Huddleston had contended a few weeks earlier that

The clauses embodied in the Charter are based upon those Human Rights which should be the possession of all free men and women. 4

To acknowledge Father Huddleston's fidelity, representatives from the South African Coloured People's Youth Organisation, TIYC, SACOD Youth League, and the ANC Youth League presented Huddleston with a framed Freedom Charter. In his farewell remarks, Father Huddleston praised the egalitarian character of the anti-apartheid Congress Alliance and called Chief Albert John Lutuli a great Christian leader.⁵ Later in the month, Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R., departed from South Africa.

¹ Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Transvaal Regional Executive Committee of the FSAW and the Transvaal Provincial Executive Committee of the ANCWL, 28 January 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

² "African Women - A New Political Force," Isizwe, vol. 1, no. 3, January 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

³ Copy of notes made by "F" N/D/Sergeant Johan Tabete of a meeting of the ANC, Moroka West, 29 January 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 3, LC.

At a public meeting convened by the SACTU on 8 February 1956, Congressman Pieter Beyleveld, President of the SACTU, roundly criticised the Minister of External Affairs and former South African representative to the UN, Eric Louw, for announcing that the consulates of the Soviet Union in Cape Town and Pretoria would be permanently closed. Diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union evolved as a result of World War II when the Soviet Union had fought with the Allied Forces. At that time, Field Marshal Smuts permitted the establishment of the Russian Consulates after a series of nation-wide protests led by the Friends of the Soviet Union, an organisation that later became known as the South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union (SASPFSU). The planned expulsion was unacceptable to Congressman Beyleveld and to the Congress Alliance.¹ Congressman Rev. D. C. Thompson, Chairman of the SASPFSU and President of the SAPC, cited his strong disapproval of the closing. He reiterated the aims of the South African Peace Movement in regards to the Soviet Union:

- closer economic and cultural relations;
- the dissemination of factual information about both countries;

⁴ Father Trevor Huddleston, "Freedom Charter," New Age, January 1956, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

⁵ Farewell Meeting to Father Trevor Huddleston, Sophiatown, 25 February 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 18, LC.

¹ Meeting of the SACTU, 8 February 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 14, LC.

- the reduction of tension;
- the construction of an atmosphere conducive to peace and friendship between the two countries. 1

Congressman Dr. H. M. M. Moosa, Joint Secretary of the SAIC, added the protest of his organisation and demanded that the Minister of External Affairs resume negotiations with the Russian government. 2

Congressman Alfred Hutchinson, former teacher, attendant at the World Youth Festival in Bucharest, tourist of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Britain, and executive officer of the Transvaal ANC, emphatically denied the South African government's charge that the Russians were "inciting" the Non-Whites:

There is no grain of truth (in the Government's assertion). We view this action of the Minister of External Affairs and indeed, of the government, as a betrayal of the cause of peace. 3

The chairman of this meeting, Congressman Leslie Masina, General Secretary of the SACTU, recommended that the anti-apartheid Congress Alliance divorce itself from the Government's action by passing a resolution "to strongly protest against the high-hand action of the government of South Africa in closing the Soviet Union's Consulate in South Africa." 4 Criticism of the expulsion continued sporadically throughout the month. 5

¹Meeting of the SACTU, 8 February 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 14, LC.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"A Blow to Peace," New Age, 9 February 1956; see also "South African People Want Friendship with Soviet Union," New Age, 23 February 1956, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

The SACTU continued its preparations for a national conference and its protest of the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act. These issues were uppermost on the agenda of the SACTU. The Management Committee directed all local committees to mount a mass petition campaign to popularise the national conference and to obtain signatures protesting the Industrial Acts. The local committee in the Transvaal convened a rally in early February. Leaflets protesting the industrial legislation and promoting the upcoming national conference were issued to the multiorganisational assembly.¹ The leaflets advised the workers to unite.² On 5-6 February 1956, a two-day protest conference was held in Port Elizabeth. The Natal committee held its protest rally on 12 February 1956. The Western Cape elected not to convene a protest meeting because the national conference was scheduled to be held in Cape Town in early March.³

At the first annual conference, President Beyleveld of the SACTU addressed the delegates and observers from the anti-apartheid Coalition. The theme of workers' rights pervaded the speech.⁴ Secretary Leslie Masina caustically remarked that the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act had created more disputes than it had settled. He stated

¹Report of the General Secretary at the 1st Annual Conference of the SACTU, 1-4 March 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 20, LC.

²"Working Men and Women United to Stop the Slave Labour Bill - Industrial Conciliation Bill," Leaflet issued by the SACTU, Cape Town Local Committee, n.d., Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 4, LC.

³Report of the General Secretary at the 1st Annual Conference of the SACTU, 1-4 March 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 20, LC.

that in 1954, there had been thirty-three labour disputes, whereas in 1955, there were seventy-two workers' disputes.¹ Later in the session, Treasurer Leon Levy unveiled the Trade Union's programme for labour relations in 1956. It called for a forty-hour work week, a minimum wage, a cost of living increase, sick leave, unemployment insurance, maternity leave benefits, end of child labour, end of compound labour, end of the tot system, end of contract labour, and the organisation of the farm workers and miners.² In general, these demands were consistent with the economic policies of the multiracial anti-apartheid Congress Alliance.³

Congressman Alex La Guma, President of the SACPO, responded harshly to the pending South African Act Amendment Bill which would deprive the Coloured people of their meagre civil rights and place them on a separate voters' roll. Congressman La Guma called the Government action undemocratic and warned the Coloured people that the assault on their political rights had only begun. He strongly advised the Coloured Community to cooperate fully with the other organisations

⁴Presidential Address of Pieter Beyleveld, to the 1st Annual Conference of the SACTU, 1-4 March 1956, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

¹Mass Meeting of the SACTU, 4 March 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 20, LC.

²Ibid.

³Statement of policy to be submitted to the 1st Annual Conference of the SACTU, 1-4 March 1956, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

in opposing the "Fascists" tactics of Parliament.¹ The anti-apartheid Congress Alliance reiterated that they were definitely against the 1910 Constitution (entrenched clauses notwithstanding) because it was undemocratic, and they called on the Government to adopt the Freedom Charter as the people's constitution of South Africa.²

The ANC Women's League and the FSAW applied greater pressure to the Government over the issue of women's rights. African women of Alberton, Elesburg, Germiston, and Natalspruit carried their grievances their Native Commissioners on 3 March 1956.³ Moreover, the women in the Transvaal issued a statement supporting the programme of the SACTU and condemned the Reclassification of Coloured People in a leaflet campaign.⁴

The ANC convened a special conference in Orlando, 31 March 1956, to ratify its human rights policy, the Freedom Charter.⁵ The advocates of Africa for Africans strongly opposed the Freedom Charter and the ANC's policy of multiracial political cooperation.⁶ Among those

¹Speech by Alex La Guma, President of the SACPO, 13 March 1956, CKC, Reel 7B, CRL.

²Counter Attack, March 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 14, LC.

³Secretary of the ANCWL, Germiston Branch, to the Town Clerk of Germiston, 22 February 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

⁴Statement of disapproval of various South African government policies, issued by the FSAW, 11 March 1956, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

⁵Resolutions passed at the Special National Conference of the ANC, 31 March -1 April 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 10, LC.

⁶Ruth First, "Freedom Charter Adopted by ANC; "Africanists" Routed at the Special Conference," New Age, 5 April 1956, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

who opposed this policy were Congressmen P. K. Leballo, J. K. Ngubane, P. Tsele, and Dr. A. B. Xuma. All of these men were honourable patriots who simply viewed the racial problem and its solution from a different perspective than did Chief A. J. Lutuli and the multi-racial Congress Alliance. Congressman Leballo and others claimed that they wanted the ANC to adhere to the "original" 1949 Programme of Action, Africa for Africans.¹ By contrast, the ANC had united with all foes of white supremacy, regardless of race, sex, creed or ideology.² At this special conference, the ANC called for the people to mobilise a sustained and determined campaign against the pass system.³

During this period, the SACOD continued to encourage European employers to support their domestic workers in the pass struggle.⁴ The ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League intensified their cooperation over the issues of Bantu Education and the pass system.⁵ Coordinated meetings were planned and outlines for mass demonstrations were exchanged between member organisations of the Congress Alliance.⁶

¹ Jordan K. Ngubane, An African Explains Apartheid (New York, 1963), pp. 93-102. See also, Gail M. Gerhart, Black Power in South Africa (London, 1978), pp. 83-84.

² Lutuli, Let My People Go, pp. 137-139.

³ Resolutions passed at the Special National Conference of the ANC, 31 March-1 April 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 10, LC.

⁴ Letter to Bernard Grosschalk, re: "University Membership of Congress of Democrats," 18 April 1956, Congress of Democrats Papers, M839, ICSA.

The multiracial SACTU continued to focus its attention on industrial legislation, wild cat strikes,¹ mass meetings,² and an explanation to the Non-White workers of the "background" of May Day celebrations.³

The SACTU held a mass meeting in Johannesburg on 22 April 1956. In attendance were 29 delegates and 103 observers representing 15 unions.⁴ The SACTU was the only trade union coordinating body in South Africa that did not have any race restrictions on its membership. Member organisations of the Congress Alliance sent fraternal greetings and observers to the conference. The ANC Women's League sent a message committing itself to the task of organising workers into local trade unions. Its observer, Congresswoman Matsiwana, emphasised the terrible plight of workers forced to do hard compound labour if found guilty of violating the Pass Laws. She went on to argue that there was linkage between cheap labour for the farmers and the

⁵T. X. Makiwane, Acting Secretary of the National Working Committee of the Youth League, to the Secretary of the ANCWL, National Working Committee, 24 April 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

⁶Helen Joseph, Secretary of the FSAW, Transvaal Region, to the Secretary, Transvaal Provincial Executive, ANC, 28 April 1956, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

¹General Secretary of the SACTU, to All Affiliated Unions and Local Committees, 16 April 1956, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

²General Secretary of the SACTU, to All Local Committees and Affiliated Trade Unions, 5 April 1956, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

³General Secretary of the SACTU, to All Local Committees and Affiliated Trade Unions, 16 April 1956, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

⁴Meeting of the SACTU, 22 April 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 14, LC.

number of arrests for pass violations; pass laws would pull African women into the work force.¹ The anti-pass campaign and the Cape Town Bus Boycott absorbed the energies of the anti-apartheid Congress Alliance, in April 1956.

At an open meeting held on 15 April 1956 in Cape Town, the SACPO, ANC, SACOD, and SACTU resolved to reject bus apartheid recently introduced on routes of the City Tramways and the Golden Arrow Bus Services. Congressman Alex La Guma, writer and President of the SACPO, argued forcefully for the bus boycott. Europeans were free to sit where they wished on public conveyances while Non-Whites were restricted to segregated seating. Congressman La Guma stressed that as of 16 April 1956, the transportation system should be boycotted. The Mowbray to Pinelands route and the Kloof-Nek-Tamboerskloof-Vredehoek Gardens route were designated as the targets of multiracial political action. The resolution to boycott was adopted without dissent.² Speaking for the ANC, Congressman D. Ngugunyeka contended rightly:

The way to smash apartheid once and for all is by militant action with the African, Coloured, Indian and progressive Europeans standing united. 3

Leo Lovell, Labour Party M.P., stated, "The only way to deal with

¹ Meeting of the SACTU, 22 April 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 14, LC.

² Speech by Alex La Guma, President of the SACPO, 15 April 1956, CKC, Reel 7B, CRL.

³ Ibid.

this Government is to unite. . . ." ¹ Senator William Ballinger, African Representative of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, pledged the support of the Liberal Party and of his wife, Margaret Ballinger, African Representative of the Cape, in protesting bus apartheid. ² The anti-apartheid Congress Coalition's boycott of legal racial discrimination on public transportation gained the support of the Most Rt. Rev. Owen McCann, R. C., Archbishop of Cape Town. He declared, "The decision to introduce apartheid on the buses in Cape Town does not have my approval." ³ The SACOD conducted an anti-bus apartheid campaign in the European areas by distributing leaflets and picketing at the queues. ⁴ The SACPO decided to discontinue collective resistance to the Cape Town bus apartheid after a month of activity. They expressed satisfaction with the "thousands" of participants in the boycott, the increase in organisational membership, and the firm stand taken by boycotters in the face of police intimidation. ⁵

On 5 May 1956, in Durban, delegates representing all the member organisations of the anti-apartheid Coalition held a conference to

¹Speech by Alex La Guma, President of the SACPO, 15 April 1956, CKC, Reel 7B, CRL.

²Ibid.

³"Bus Boycott Gathers Momentum," New Age, 26 April 1956, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

⁴"Growing Support for Bus Boycott," New Age, 3 May 1956, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

⁵"Bus Boycott Pickets Withdrawn, SACPO Preparations for Next Phase," New Age, 17 May 1956, CKC, Reel 16, CRL.

discuss the Tomlinson Report and the racial Group Areas Act. Africans, Indians, Coloureds, and Europeans were compelled to reside in "controlled" locations (the Group Areas Act had become law in April 1950). For purposes of racial segregation, the population of South Africa was divided into three racial groups: European, African and Coloured. The Coloured group was subdivided into Indian, Chinese, and Malay by a later amendment. The latter three racial groupings became operative by Proclamation 73 issued by the Governor General on 30 March 1955. The anti-apartheid Congress Alliance rejected the Bantustan (Homelands) concept as a fraudulent scheme devised by the Native Affairs Department to complete the process of "legal" misappropriation by a white settler minority of the indigenous people's land, making them landless wage slaves. Additionally, the Congress Alliance rejected in toto the Tomlinson Report because it sought to preserve racial inequality; by contrast, multiracial cooperation implied a common society.¹

In a speech on 15 May 1956, to the Witwatersrand Local Committee of the SACTU, Congressman Leon Levy, executive officer of the SACTU, instructed the multiracial membership to popularise the Freedom Charter. He further recommended that the trade union movement participate actively in the work of the Congress Alliance.² The workers' turnout

¹ Group Areas Act Conference, convened by the NIC, 5-6 May 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 16, LC.

² Minutes of the meeting of the Witwatersrand Local Committee of the SACTU, 15 May 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 20, LC.

for May Day activities had been very disappointing to Congressman Levy¹ and he sought by this speech to increase participation of the Local Consultative Committees in achieving national trade union objectives. On 17 May 1956, the Management Committee of local affiliated trade unions was instructed to train a new cadre of leaders immediately.² The National Consultative Committee of the political Congress Alliance decided that these "volunteers" must be the most outstanding and promising members from each organisation. They were to be taught Congress policy and assigned specific tasks as recruiting for the movement, gaining signatures for the Freedom Charter, selling and distributing Congress publications, studying and discussing the following pro-Congress literature: New Age, Liberation, Workers' Unity, Congress Voice, Sechaba, Peace Council Bulletin, Fighting Talk, and Counter Attack. At the end of each week, a report was to be filed by the volunteers to their local consultative committees.³ These would be assessed and used to formulate and refine local and national Congress Alliance policy.

The bannings of Congress leaders had made it necessary to develop a diversified leadership. The pending threat of a treason trial was also

¹"May Day is Our Day!" A message from Leon Levy and Leslie Masina, 1956, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

²Secretary of the Witwatersrand Local Committee of the SACTU, to All Local Affiliated Trade Unions, 17 May 1956, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

³Letter from the Transvaal Congress Consultative Committee, to the Secretary of the Witwatersrand Local Committee of the SACTU, 11 June 1956, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

a factor. The ANC was quite concerned with Minister Swart's threat that nearly 200 persons in the anti-apartheid Congress Alliance would be arrested any day.¹ The need for new leadership at various levels was therefore imperative. However, the tone of the Alliance remained defiant. Congressman Lionel Morrison, Secretary of the Cape SACPO, articulated the mood:

And now Swart comes and tells us about two hundred people that are going to be arrested. He talks about Treason, Sedition, Incitement, and I don't know what else. I say, if trying to get a better way of living, trying to fight against all these oppressive laws is treason, then I say, all of us are guilty of treason. 2

A member of the SAIC, Congressman Farid Adams asserted that nonviolent protest was the only means available to the people against the policies of the Government.³

The permanent formation of consultative committees at both the provincial and national levels had effectively coordinated the political activities of the member organisations of the Congress Alliance, but the one million signatures campaign for the endorsement of the new South African Constitution (Freedom Charter) was relatively unsuccessful. For example, in the Transvaal, the most politicised province in South Africa, the local consultative committee reduced the number of signatories required for the Freedom Charter from 450,000 to 50,000.

¹O. R. Tambo, Secretary General of the ANC, to the Secretaries of the ANC Branches, n.d., Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

²Meeting of the ANC, 3 June 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 16, LC.

³Ibid.

The Transvaal had a population of nearly 5 million people.¹ It is probable that the three other provinces may have collected 50,000 signatories jointly which would mean that the multiorganisational Congress Alliance secured in the area of 100,000 endorsements in the first year for multiracial cooperation. Out of a population of approximately 10 to 15 million,² that is relatively unsuccessful. Given the social realities, perhaps Congressman H. M. Moosa, activist, physician, and Secretary of the TIC, was overly optimistic when he stated:

Our Freedom Charter is going to lead us to our cherished goal; a truly free South Africa where every single person. . . can live like decent human beings. . . hold his head high and know that this is his country. . . (and) is treated fairly and justly and where the evil of racialism is past. . . .³

Clearly, Congressman Moosa's vision for a non-racist South Africa was at variance with the concrete socio-political environment wherein whole races of people were excluded by law from the political process. Workers in the mines, in the steel and iron factories, unskilled labourers on the vast agricultural estates and illiterate peasants on the Reservations had no safeguards against oppressive legislation. The demands for civil liberties, human rights, and legal reforms made by the Congress

¹ Editorial, Forward to Freedom, vol. 2, no. 3, 18 May 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

² Population Census, 1960, Sample Tabulation - No. 3, Major Occupational Groups, Whites, Coloureds, Asiatics, and Bantus (Pretoria, 1960).

³ "The Evils of Racism," Speech by Dr. H. M. Moosa, Joint Secretary of the TIC, Freedom Rally, Transvaal, 26 June 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

Alliance on behalf of the people were interpreted as treasonable agitation by the State. By seeking to effect industrial, economic, political and social change and by promoting the radical ideal of human equality under law, the anti-apartheid Congress Alliance was contravening the Suppression of Communism Act¹ and the reactionary policy of the totalitarian Government. Egalitarianism was the Congress Alliance's programme and a weapon for social change.² For the ANC, it was an effective method;³ for the SACTU, it was characterised as the answer to the race problem;⁴ for the SACOD, it was healthy and worth striving to obtain;⁵ for the SACPO, it was a righteous cause;⁶ for the SAIC, it was an expression of democracy;⁷ for the FSAW, it was humane and just.⁸ Perhaps the leaders of the Congress Alliance adhered to the

¹Karis, Treason Trial in South Africa - A Guide to the Microfilm Record of the Trial.

²"Freedom Charter Only Alternative to Slavery," New Age, 28 June 1956, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

³Report of the Provincial Executive Committee of the ANC, Chief A. J. Lutuli, President General, 1 October 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 2, LC.

⁴Message of Leon Levy, President of the SACTU, at the Freedom Rally, Transvaal, 26 June 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

⁵Yetta Barenblatt, National Secretary of the SACOD, to Bernard Grosschalk, 2 July 1956, Congress of Democrats' Papers, M839, ICOSA.

⁶Secretary of the SACPO, to the Conference of the SACOD, 24 June 1956, CKC, Reel 4B, CRL.

⁷Speech by Dr. G. M. Naicker, Executive Officer of the SAIC, Freedom Rally, 26 June 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

view of Leo Tolstoy. If a man acts

. . . in accordance with what is dictated to him by his reason, his conscience and his God, only the very best can result for himself as well as for the world. ¹

If the Congress Alliance held that view, it would explain their optimism and continued defiance in the face of the legal power of the South African government.

Minister Swart's threat to arrest the leadership of the Congress Alliance did not prevent collective nonviolent resistance to the pass system. Multiracial mass protest demonstrations took place in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, and Pretoria on 9 August 1956. ² The FSAW and the ANC Women's League were chiefly responsible for this synchronised political action. The women had appealed for redress from the Native Commissioners without success. A letter of protest was written by Congresswomen Elizabeth Motingoe, Secretary of the ANC Women's League, and Helen Joseph, Secretary of the Transvaal branch of the FSAW, to the Prime Minister, J. G. Strijdom, demanding an end of passes for African women. ³ Prime Minister Strijdom did not reply to the women's letter which was written on 25 July 1956. ⁴ Consequently, 10,000 women walked to the Union Buildings

⁸"Transvaal Clothing Industrial Medical Aid Society," A speech by Helen Joseph, Secretary of the FSAW, Meeting of the Congress of the People, 26 June 1956, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

¹Leo Tolstoy, Tolstoy's Writings on Civil Disobedience and Non-Violence (London, 1967), p. 102.

²New Age, 16 August 1956, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

in Pretoria to register their grievance and demand repeal of the pass system.¹ Special Branch detectives photographed the assembly. Lt. -Col. R. J. van den Bergh, Divisional Criminal Investigation Officer, monitored the march on Pretoria.² The ANC Women's League in Pretoria was under the leadership of Congresswoman Anna Moeketsi who coordinated strategy for the campaign. In an undated press statement, the pass system was described as "outrageous and a denial of the fundamental human rights of freedom of movement, of security of the home."³ When invited to assist in the Pretoria Anti-Pass Campaign, the Women's Defense of the Constitution League (The Black Sash) politely declined. "We do not associate our organisation with public demonstrations," they stated in a letter to the FSAW.⁴ However, the European women's organisation did express their sympathy for the women who were victims of human rights violations and suggested that they would consider revising their Constitution, hence allowing

³"The Demand of the Women of South Africa for the Withdrawal of Pass Laws," presented to the Prime Minister, 9 August 1956, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

⁴"10,000 Women in Protest Move to See Prime Minister," Rand Daily Mail, 9 August 1956.

¹Instructions to Volunteers Organising the Women's Protest in Pretoria, 9 August 1956, issued by the FSAW, CKC, Reel 19B, CRL.

²"Thousands of Native Women Begin Protest," Natal Daily News, 9 August 1956.

³"Passes for Women Are an Outrage," A press statement issued by the Transvaal Regional Executive of the FSAW, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 5, LC.

them to more actively support the women of the Congress Alliance in the future.

The FSAW and the ANC Women's League received warm congratulations from their allies. Four messages were particularly relevant. The SACOD praised the extraordinary organisational skills of the women.¹ The National Executive Committee of the ANC termed the women's campaign a well executed multiracial confrontation.² The SACTU full supported the women's efforts;³ and the TIYC characterised the mobilising of thousands of women as an invaluable political contribution.⁴ The women's resistance to the Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act was a most significant act of nonviolent protest to enlarge the sphere of individual rights and civil liberties.

The Group Areas Act and passes for African women overshadowed other issues at the Second National Conference of the Federation of South African Women. This conference was held in Johannesburg, 11-12 August 1956; the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress assisted the women in arranging this event.⁵

⁴Secretary of the Women's Defense of the Constitution League to the 2nd National Conference of the FSAW, 11-12 August 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

¹Minutes of the Congress of Democrats, 20 August 1956, Congress of Democrats' Papers, M839, ICSA.

²Resolution passed by the National Executive Committee of the ANC, 17 August 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 10, LC.

³Leslie Masina, General Secretary of the SACTU, to the National Secretary of the ANCWL, 11 September 1956, CKC, Reel 14B, CRL.

Many of the African, Coloured, Indian and European women who had participated in the mass demonstration in Pretoria were in attendance to hear Congresswoman Rahima Moosa welcome the delegates to the conference and commemorate the banned members of the FSAW for the great sacrifices they had made in the pursuit of the political ideal of women's rights. High on this list were Congresswomen Ray Alexander, National Secretary; Dora Tamara, Acting National Secretary; Hetty McLeod, National Treasurer; executive officers of the FSAW, Hilda Watts and Florence Matomela; and Transvaal Chairpersons, Josie Palmer and Fatima Meer.¹ The work of the FSAW for the past two years was recapitulated by Congresswoman Helen Joseph, Secretary of the Transvaal Region of the FSAW. She cited the affiliation of the SACOD, SACPO, the Cape Housewives' Leagues, the League of Non-European Women, Cape Region, the Food and Canning Workers Union, and the ANC Women's League to the FSAW. She also mentioned the increase in attendance (150 women attended the first conference; 450 came to the second).² There had been tremendous development. The National Executive Committee of

⁴M. Moola and M. Moosajee, Joint Honourable Secretaries of the TIYC, to the Secretary of the FSAW, 17 August 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 11, LC.

⁵Welcome Address delivered by Mrs. Rahima Moosa, at the 2nd National Conference of the FSAW, 11-12 August 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

¹Ibid.

²"Work of the Federation," A speech delivered by Helen Joseph,

the ANC assessed the women's movement as having "become the spearhead of our bitter struggle against the wicked pass system."¹

Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R., characterised the women as being "alive to the really burning issues" challenging South Africa.²

The Groups Areas Act was an issue of freedom about which Congresswoman Fatima Seedat of Durban felt strongly. She introduced statistical data to illustrate that the "Act" would dislocate 80,000 Africans, 68,000 Indians, 7,000 Coloureds, and 3,500 Europeans in Durban, alone.³ The forced relocation of nearly 152,000 people would constitute a serious hardship under the very best of circumstances and according to Congresswoman Seedat, these circumstances were appalling. This theme was continued by Congresswoman Frances Baard as she spoke on the ninth clause of the Freedom Charter:

All people shall have the right to live where they choose,
to be decently housed to bring up their families in comfort
and security. 4

Congresswoman Baard's viewpoint on the Group Areas Act was penetrating; she termed the division of people into ethnic groupings a crime.

Secretary of the FSAW, Transvaal Region, at the 2nd National Conference of the FSAW, 11-12 August 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

¹Message from the ANC, to the 2nd National Conference of the FSAW, 11-12 August 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

²Message from Trevor Huddleston, C.R., to the 2nd National Conference of the FSAW, 11-12 August 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

³"Group Areas Act," A speech delivered by Mrs. Fatima Seedat, to the 2nd National Conference of the FSAW, 11-12 August, 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

Forcing a people to live in separate locations was an ill-conceived notion, which, she argued, belonged on the "rubbish heap of history."¹ The Group Areas Act, in many instances, created a pathetic mass of displaced persons.

Congresswoman Bertha Mashaba outlined the negative aspects of the Pass Laws. A failure to notify the Pass Officers of a change in domicile, "being out late", or "entering a location without permission" might result in a jail term. She announced that a registration card was a clear symbol that the Non-White was "debarred from citizenship" in South Africa. Their movement and their labour, according to Congresswoman Mashaba, were controlled by the Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act, regardless of what it was officially called. "We see the pass laws as one of the great barriers that stand in the way of human advancement."² A resolution on Pass Laws was unanimously approved by the FSAW at this conference.³

Opposition to the Group Areas Act and the Pass Laws continued throughout 1956. The National Executive Committee of the FSAW

⁴Draft of the Freedom Charter, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

¹"Houses, Comfort, Security," A speech delivered by Mrs. Frances Baard, to the 2nd National Conference of the FSAW, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

²"The Struggle Against the Passes," A speech delivered by Miss Bertha Mashaba, to the 2nd National Conference of the FSAW, 11-12 August 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

³Resolution on Pass Laws adopted at the 2nd National Conference of the FSAW, 11-12 August 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

instructed all regions to organise resistance against the offending statutes. An effort was made to encourage more input from Coloured and Indian women, who thus far had not been drawn into the mass demonstrations in sufficient numbers.¹

An All-In Conference was called by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation in Bloemfontein, 4-6 October 1956, to consider the Tomlinson Report on legal racial discrimination. This conference demonstrated the extent that legal racial discrimination, in general, and the Tomlinson Report, in particular, was rejected.² Responsible members of the African community as Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, resident of the Orange Free State, President of the Ministers' Federation, Methodist minister and twice President General of the ANC; Dr. A. B. Xuma, physician and ex-President General of the ANC; Advocate Duma Nokwe, ANC executive officer and National Secretary of the ANC Youth League; Selby Ngcobo, Professor at Fort Hare; Rev. James A. Calata, Cape Province, Vice President of the Ministers' Federation, and Anglican minister; Dr. Abner S. Mtimkulu, leader in the Natal ANC and Methodist minister; Godfrey M. Pitje, professor and ex-President of the ANC Youth League; Rev. A. L. Mncube, Cape Province, Secretary General of the Ministers' Federation; and Professor

¹Helen Joseph, Secretary of the FSAW, Transvaal Region, to All Regional Organisations, 24 September 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 9, LC.

²Statement by the All-In Conference, Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, Chairman, and Rev. A. L. Mncube, Secretary, 4-6 October 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 20, LC.

Z. K. Matthews, executive officer of the Cape ANC, among others, denounced the Tomlinson Report as a comprehensive plan for a continuation of the status quo, "an aggravation of the worst evils of the present system."¹ The All-In Conference passed resolutions calling upon

. . . all national organisations to mobilise all the people irrespective of race, colour, or creed to form a united front against apartheid. . . to take positive steps to break down the colour bar in group relations. . . to ensure that democratic and Christian opinion expresses itself on discriminatory legislation in ways most likely to impress (upon the community) the urgent need for a positive alternative to apartheid or separate development. 2

Multiorganisational political cooperation to combat the profound human problem of legal racial discrimination was sanctioned by over 390 delegates who represented a cross-section of the South African population.

The Cape Town Peace Council convened a pre-National Peace Convention/Provincial Conference on 14 October 1956. Rev. D. C. Thompson, National President of the SAPC and the Chairman of the SASPFSU, opened the conference with the theme of world peace. Congressman Alex La Guma, President of the SACPO, and Congresswoman Elizabeth Mafekeng, National Vice President of the ANC Women's League and member of the National Executive Committee of the FSAW, delivered

¹Text of Resolution at the National Conference of the African People, convened by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, 4-6 October 1956, to consider the Tomlinson Report on Apartheid, ANC Papers, M856, ICSA.

²All-In Conference Calls for United Front Against Apartheid, (Tomlinson Report Unanimously Rejected), "New Age, 11 October 1956, CKC, Reel 14, CRL.

papers reinforcing Congressman Thompson's theme.¹ The conference was attended by delegates of all races representing the SACOD, FSAW, ANC, and SACTU. The conference adopted a resolution that stated "We the people of Cape Town, representing all sections of our multi-racial community, will do all in our power to preserve and promote world peace."²

The theme of peace in Africa was pursued further by Chief A. J. Lutuli, President General of the ANC, as he opened the National Peace Convention in Johannesburg, 27-28 October 1956:

Africa, like other lands, needs Peace, if her people are to be assured of engaging in constructive human pursuits calculated to enable them to live in comfort and security and in friendly co-operation with others. . .³

Congressman Lutuli, in his extraordinary elegance, was complimented by the gentle humanism of Congresswoman Lilian Ngoyi's reading of the 'Declaration of Mothers for the Defense of Children Against the Danger of War':

Our children are exposed to even more frightful dangers because of the weapons of mass destruction. Nuclear warfare threatens even the unborn child. . . the future of the race. . . and could lead to the destruction of humanity. . . .

¹Cape Town Peace Conference, 14 October 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

²Ibid.

³"Opening Address," delivered by Chief A. J. Lutuli, President General of the ANC, to the National Peace Convention, sponsored by the Peace Council of South Africa, 28-29 October 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 13, LC.

As mothers, we have the duty to demand the end of this threat and we have the right to be heard. Our first responsibility is the defence of human life. . . .

We mothers call upon all statesmen and all peoples of the world to observe the spirit of the United Nations Charter, to abolish all military pacts which threaten peace, and to renounce the instrument of war as a means of settling disputes. . . .

We demand . . . the prohibition of atomic weapons. . . complete disarmament, that all governments sign a convention not to use weapons of mass destruction, and that they at once cease from experiments with nuclear weapons. . . .

We demand. . . the resources of the world be used for the well-being of humanity and, above all, for our children, to ensure for them health. . . the social services necessary to safeguard their development and promote their happiness. . . .

We demand the education of our children in the spirit of friendship, justice, and peace¹

Congresswoman Ngoyi's speech epitomised the Congress Alliance's egalitarian human rights policy of peace and friendship between individual human beings and sovereign states.

On 9 November 1956, the South African government finalised . the political process of totally disenfranchising its Non-White population. The specific entrenched clause of the South African Act 1909 had been circumvented by the Nationalist government (The Appellate Division Quorum Act No. 27, 1955 and the Senate Act No. 53, 1955), thus successfully concluding the five year constitutional struggle to remove

¹"Declaration of Mothers for the Defense of Children Against the Danger of War," read by Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi, National President of the FSAW, and a member of the International Committee of Mothers, on behalf of the FSAW, at the National Peace Convention, sponsored by the Peace Council of South Africa, Johannesburg, 28-29 October 1956, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 8, LC.

the Cape Coloureds from the common voters rolls. This act of legal force against the Coloureds completed the political disenfranchisement of the non-white population.

By what right did the Government rule South Africa? By none at all; the Government ruled by force. Its unjust politics of legal social inequality consistently violated individual freedoms, civil liberties, and all of the internationally recognised human rights codes of political morality. It lacked the consent of the governed, thus it was illegitimate. Clearly, the South African government was guilty of high crimes against its white and non-white populations. Its attacks on the progressive forces of democracy, liberty, and equality culminated in December 1956, with the arrest of 156 human rights activists. All were prominent members of the multiracial political opposition. After a decade of nonviolent political conflict, the multiracial Coalition was destabilised by the State's misuse of legal force under the Suppression of Communism Act. The mass arrest of the Egalitarians closed a major watershed in the historical development of the Congress Alliance. The revolutionary would now succeed the reformer. The struggle for human rights would continue. . . .

SUMMARY

In his Nobel Lecture, 11 December 1961, the leader of the multi-racial political Coalition, Chief Albert John Lutuli, made this public statement:

Our vision has always been that of a non-racial democratic South Africa which upholds the rights of all who live in our country to remain there as full citizens with equal rights and responsibilities with all others. . . . We do not demand these things for people of African descent alone. We demand them for all South Africans, white and black. On these principles we are uncompromising. . . . This is what we stand for. This is what we fight for. ¹

With that statement, the Nobel Laureate and leader of the multiracial political Coalition signalled the end of the nonviolent phase of South Africa's egalitarian social revolution.

In sum, the alliance of the Congresses was a significant historical phenomenon because its political development and public instrument, the Freedom Charter, raised a fundamental political question: Where does sovereignty rest - with the State or with the People? The anti-apartheid Coalition contended that supreme sovereignty was vested in the People of South Africa. The multiracial political Coalition argued that the State's doctrine of apartheid violated the human rights of the individual. Thus, the State Constitution was unjust and immoral. The egalitarian's thesis was predicated upon the Universal Declaration of

¹Les Prix Nobel en 1961, (Stockholm, Sweden, 1962), pp. 217-218.

Human Rights and the United Nations Charter. Clearly, multiracial political opposition to State tyranny was a dominant theme in South African historiography. Liberty, the will of the People, and tyranny, State power and authority, were in constant dialectical relationship. Thus, it is posited that the liberal democratic interpretation (human rights struggle) is a legitimate alternative to the marxist (class struggle) and nationalist (race struggle) interpretations as evidenced by this empirical case study of the Congress Alliance.

APPENDIX A

THE 156 TRIALISTS

Adams, Farid Ahmed - (First string accused.) Born 1933. Clerk. Joined Indian Congress in the 'forties during the anti-"Ghetto" Act campaign. Convicted for painting Freedom Charter slogans in 1955, but judgement on appeal is pending.

Arenstein, Mrs. Jacqueline - (Second string accused.) Born 1922. Journalist. Was the Durban correspondent of 'The Guardian.'

Asmal, Mohamed Suleman "Bob" - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1923. Commercial traveller. During Evaton bus boycott was charged with public violence and murder, but acquitted on all counts.

Baard, Mrs. Frances - (Second string co-conspirator.) Teacher and trade unionist. Worked in food and canning industry and became Port Elizabeth secretary of union. While organising in East London was given one hour to quit that town. Eastern Province women's leader.

Barenblatt, Mrs. Yetta - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1913. Secretary. Organised trade unions in East London in the 'forties, and the East London Workers' Civic League; later organised for Springbok Legion.

Barsel, Hymie - (Second string accused.) Born 1920. Clerk. During the 'thirties was assaulted when taking part in demonstrations against the Blackshirt movement. Secretary of Durban Medical Aid for Russia during the war.

Bernstein, Lionel "Rusty" - (Second string accused.) Born 1920. Architect. Served with the S. A. Artillery during the Italian campaign. Among those convicted of assisting an illegal strike of African miners on the Reef in August, 1946.

Beyleveld, Pieter - (Second string accused.) Born 1916. Businessman. Headed Afrikaans section of the S. A. Forces Radio in Cairo during latter part of the war. Took part in the Sailor Malan-Dolf De La Rey Commando to Cape Town, forerunner of the Torch Commando, Labour Party National Organiser in 1952 General Election Campaign.

South Africa's Treason Trial. (Johannesburg, "Afrika!" Publications, 1957), pp. 18-24.

Bokala, Isaac - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1929 in Newclare, Johannesburg, where he has been active in African National Congress campaigns since the 1952 Defiance Campaign.

Bunting, Mrs. Sonia Beryl - (Second string accused.) Born 1923. Housewife. Prominent public speaker in Cape Town campaigns of Congress movement. Wife of Brian Bunting, editor of 'New Age' newspaper and former Member of Parliament for the Cape Western African seat.

Busa, Julius Phumelele - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1927. Trade unionist. Has played an important part in organising textile workers in Worcester.

Calata, The Rev. James - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1895. Anglican priest at Cradock. Joined the Bantu Union in 1924 and the African National Congress in 1930. First president of the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation. Holds office in African Scout Movement and the Joint Council of Europeans, Africans and Coloureds.

Carneson, Fred - (Second string accused.) Born 1920. Business manager of 'New Age'. Served in S.A. Corp of Signals in the Somaliland, Abyssinian, Egyptian and Italian campaigns. Represented the Africans of Cape Western in the Cape Provincial Council until expelled by the Minister.

Chamile, Andries "General China" - (Second string accused.) Born 1900. Labourer. Member Newclare Branch of African National Congress which he joined during the Defiance Campaign.

Conco, Dr. Wilson Z. - (First string accused.) Born 1919 of a farm-tenant family. Trained as a teacher as an opening to higher education and is today a medical practitioner at Umzimkulu, among poor Reserve peasants.

Damons, Mrs. Stella Madge - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1930. Trade unionist. During Government's race classification of Coloured people organised a protest meeting, was charged with assaulting the police and fined L28.

Dawood, Miss Asha Bibi - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1928. Shop assistant. Active in Worcester and in campaigns in surrounding towns of Robertson, Ceres, De Doorns and Beaufort West.

Diamini, Stephen J. C. - (Second string accused.) Born 1913. Factory worker and trade unionist. Left the teaching profession to organise in the factories and has taken part in a large number of strikes in Natal.

Dichaba, Gabriel - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1920. A herdboy till he was 15, and then left school to become a labourer in the railway workshops. Led the first Free State volunteers in the Defiance Campaign.

Esakjee, Suliman - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born in 1928. Clerk. Served terms of imprisonment during the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign and the Defiance Campaign. Convicted for painting Freedom Charter slogans in 1955, but judgement on appeal is pending.

Forman, Lionel - (Second string accused.) Born 1928. Barrister and journalist. Author of the first book on the trial, You Can Hang for Treason. Headed South African Student delegations to international conferences.

Fuyani, D. - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1924. Factory worker. Rural organiser of the African National Congress, and prominent in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

Gawe, The Rev. Walker Stanley - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1900. Minister of Religion in Queenstown. Joined the Industrial & Commercial Workers' Union (I. C. U.) and the African National Congress in 1923. Served from 1942-47 as Chaplain in the Native Military Corps. Took part in the Defiance Campaign.

Gumede, Archibald - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1914. Lawyer's clerk. Son of J. T. Gumede, former president-general of the A. N. C., who was a member of the deputation to London against the 1913 Land Act. A leading figure in the Natal Midlands.

Hadebe, James Jobe - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1923. Children's Cultural Club organiser. Popular singer. Descended from Langelibalele, Hlubi chief, charged with rebellion and treason after a clash with the British forces in 1879.

Hlapane, Bartholomew - (Second string accused.) Born 1918. Factory worker. Played active part in the African National Congress from the time the Nationalist Government came to power in 1948.

Hodgson, P. J. "Jack" - (Second string accused.) Born 1910. Formerly national secretary of the Springbok Legion. Foundation member of the Northern Rhodesian Mine Workers' Union. Served with the 'Desert Rats' until discharged with a disability pension. Represented ex-servicemen on Directorate of Demobilisation.

Hoogendyk, Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr - (Second string accused.) Born 1911. of a strict 'Dopper' home. Accountant. Enlisted with the S. A. Forces in 1942 and was active in the Springbok Legion.

Horvitch, Isaac Osier - (Second string accused.) Born 1920. Architect. Director of the Real Printing and Publishing Company, which publishes 'New Age' newspaper and in which capacity he is also charged in these proceedings.

Hurbans, Gopallal - (Second string accused.) Born 1915. Businessman and sugar farmer. Took the lead in establishing four Indian schools in Tongaat and district and is chairman of the Natal Vigilance Committee against the Group Areas Act.

Hutchinson, Alfred "Tough" - (Second string accused.) Born 1924. Teacher and writer, Victimised by Transvaal Education Department for courting and serving imprisonment during the Defiance Campaign. Taught on staff of the Johannesburg Indian School established as a community protest against the Group Areas Act.

Jack, Joseph - (Second string accused.) Born 1927. Photographer. Served two months' imprisonment during the Defiance Campaign for defying railway apartheid regulations. Frequently arrested and prosecuted for using loudspeakers at meetings without permits.

Jasson, Mrs. Christina - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1928. Clerk. Active in the Port Elizabeth trade union movement, organising food and canning workers, and textile workers, leading several strikes. Her infant daughter was born during the treason trial proceedings.

Joseph, Mrs. Helen - (First string accused.) Born 1905. Taught at a girls' school in Hyderabad, India. Welfare officer in the WAAF's. Secretary of Transvaal Clothing Industry Medical Aid Society, which has 20,000 members. One of the leaders of the women's anti-pass protest movement.

Joseph, Paul - (Second string accused.) Born 1930. Factory worker. Joined Indian Congress youth movement when a boy of 14. Delegate to the World Federation of Trade Unions Conference in Vienna in 1953.

Kathrada, Ahmed Mohammed "Kathy" - (First string accused.) Born 1929. Youth organiser. Took part in Indian Congress activities from an early age, leaving school in 1946 to work for the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council. Among those convicted for leadership of the Defiance Campaign.

Keitsing, "Fish" - (Second string accused.) Born 1919. Underground worker in gold mines and a foundation member of African Mine Workers' Union. In middle of treason trial he started a 12-months sentence for releasing pass-law prisoners from police custody during 1956. Brought to Drill Hall under escort.

Kepe, Lungile - (Second string accused.) Born 1927. Labourer. Took part in 1950 National strike on June 26th. Served term of imprisonment during the Defiance Campaign for defying railway apartheid regulations. Twice arrested for addressing Congress meetings without permits.

Kotane, Moses M. - (Second string accused.) Born 1905. Formerly General Secretary of the Communist Party of South Africa. Together with the Party's Central Committee charged with sedition in 1946 African miners' strike, but the case was later abandoned. Attended the Bandung Conference as an observer for African people.

Kumalo, Jerry Dlbanhiele - (Second string accused.) Born 1922. Clothing designer and cutter. Served prison sentences as a volunteer in Defiance Campaign in Germiston and Wolmaransstad. Active in African National Congress.

Kumalo, John M. "Anti-Pass" - (First string co-conspirator.) During Evaton bus boycott, banished in terms of 1927 Native Administration Act to Dulwelskloof, from where he was brought to stand trial.

La Guma, Alex - (Second string accused.) Born 1925. Journalist. Author of short stories and sketches of the contemporary South African scene. On the staff of 'New Age' newspaper.

Lee-Warden, L. B. - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1913. Master printer. The representative of Cape Western Africans in the House of Assembly, to which he was elected despite a Government ban on his attending or addressing meetings.

Letele, Dr. Arthur E. - (Second string accused.) Born 1916. Medical practitioner. Before Africans were admitted to University medical courses, trained as a medical-aide in a leper hospital. Led the first Kimberley volunteers in the Defiance Campaign and was one of those found guilty of leading the campaign.

Levy, Leon. - (First string accused.) Born 1929. Trade unionist. Started work at the age of 16. From rank-and-file member of National Union of Distributive Workers, rose to be secretary of number of trade unions.

Levy, Norman - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1929. Teacher, but suspended by Education Department after the treason arrests. Helped establish cultural clubs for African children expelled from Bantu Education Schools by Dr. Verwoerd after the Bantu Education boycott.

Lollan, Stanley B. - (First string accused.) Born 1925. Clerk. Active in campaigns of the Coloured people against the abolition of Cape Coloured franchise, racial classification of Coloured people under the Population Registration Act, and against Group Areas Act.

Lutuli, Chief Albert John, - President-General of the African National Congress, - (First string co-conspirator.) Sugar cane farmer. Born in 1898 at a Seventh Day Adventist Mission. His father was John Bunyan Luthuli, second son of Chief Ntaba Lutuli, of the Abasemakhholweni tribe which elects its chiefs. Chief Lutuli trained as a teacher and taught at Adams College until 1935. He became president of the Natal African Teachers' Association, Chairman of the Congregational Churches of the American Board; President of the Natal Missionary Conference; and an executive member of the Christian Council of South Africa. He founded the Natal and Zululand Bantu Cane Growers Association.

In 1936 the Abasemakhholweni tribe elected Chief Lutuli its tribal head and he held that position until 1952 when the government ordered him to choose between his chieftainship and Congress leadership. Chief Lutuli chose deposal rather than relinquish his political convictions. He was a member of the Native Representative Council until that Council was abolished by the Nationalists.

In 1938 he went to India as a delegate of the Christian Council to the International Missionary Council; and in 1948 he went to the United States to attend the North American Missionary Conference.

Mafora, Jacob B. - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1906. Entered domestic service and then became a gardener. Confined to Bloemfontein in 1953 for one year, under the Riotous Assemblies Act. Leading ANC figure in the Free State.

Mahlangu, Aaron - (Second string accused.) Born 1914. Trade unionist. As a domestic worker took part in the 1942 anti-pass campaign and was sacked. Later again victimised after taking part in a strike at a power station. Became a full-time trade union secretary after entering the laundry industry.

Make, Vus'umxi - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1931. Articled clerk. Joined A. N. C. Youth League as a schoolboy. Prominent in year-long Evaton bus boycott and acquitted on charges of public violence and murder arising from the boycott.

Makgothi, Henry George "Squire" - (Second string accused.) Born 1928. Teacher, now clerk. Joined the Congress Youth League in the '40s. Expelled from the teaching profession when he volunteered to serve a prison sentence during the Defiance Campaign.

Makhohliso, Charles - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1918.

Trade unionist. Organiser of brick workers for better wages and working conditions and a leader of people's campaigns in Stellenbosch.

Makiwane, Tennyson Xola - (Second string accused.) Born 1933. Law student and journalist. Expelled from Fort Hare in 1955 after student demonstration there. His grandfather, the Rev. E. Makiwane, was a member of the 1910 deputation to London to protest against the colour-bar in the Act of Union.

Makue, Joshua - (Second string accused.) Born 1909. Teacher and tailor. Joined the I. C. U. after being refused enrollment as an engineering student at the Witwatersrand University because the course was not open to Non-Europeans. Joined the 1946 Indian passive resistance campaign and went to prison.

Malele, Elmon - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1920. A leading Congress member in Moroka and the south-west townships of Johannesburg. Joined Congress during the Defiance Campaign.

Malope, Daniel "Sample" - (Second string accused.) Born 1915. House painter. Joined A. N. C. Youth League in 1944. Arrested in 1946 for assisting African miners' strike. Served a term of imprisonment during the Defiance Campaign. An accomplished linguist, speaking Sotho, Xhosa, English, Hindustani and Afrikaans.

Manana, P. S. J. - (Second string accused.) Born 1913. Businessman. Has played a leading role in campaigns against higher rentals and passes in Durban.

Mandela, Nelson R. - (First string accused.) Born 1918, the son of Chief Henry Mandela of the Transkei. Attorney. Was amongst those sentenced for leadership of the Defiance Campaign. Keen amateur boxer.

Masemola, Balelekeng Sam - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1926. Clerk. Joined the A. N. C. in 1949 and helped steer his branch in Alexandra township away from 'hamba kahle' methods towards militant campaigning. Active in anti-pass and anti-permit campaigns.

Mashaba, Miss Bertha Nonkumbi (Mrs. Thage) - (Second string accused.) Born 1934. Typist-clerk. A prominent organiser and public speaker for Congress Women's League.

Mashaba, July - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1918. Factory worker. Joined African National Congress during the Defiance Campaign and is active in the Moroka branch.

Mashibini, Philemon - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1912. Businessman. Joined Congress 1951. Active in the Defiance Campaign. Prominent Queenstown leader.

Massina, Leslie - (First string accused.) Born 1921. Trade unionist. Father is a foundation member of the African National Congress. Re-elected to the Dube Advisory Board while in prison awaiting trial for treason.

Mathole, Philemon - (First string accused.) Born 1916. Trader. Worked as a miner and took part in the 1946 miners' strike. Served on Moroka Advisory Board after establishment of this township, and has been in forefront of many campaigns in Johannesburg.

Mati, W. - (Second string accused.) Born 1923. Clerk. Joined African National Congress in 1946. Active in 1949 bus boycott in Port Elizabeth. Served three months imprisonment during Defiance Campaign for defying unjust laws. Arrested for organising illegal May Day meeting in Port Elizabeth in 1955.

Matlou, Jonas Dinous - (Second string accused.) Born 1920. Insurance and land agent. Herded his farm-tenant family's flock till he went to school at age of 12. Joined the A.N.C. in the '40s at an anti-pass protest meeting. Foundation member A.N.C. Youth League.

Matomela, Mrs. Florence - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1910. Served six weeks imprisonment during the Defiance Campaign. Amongst Cape leaders who received suspended sentences under Suppression of Communism Act in 1953. Had nine children, only five of whom have survived.

Matthews, Joseph G. - (Second string accused.) Born 1929. Attorney. Pioneer member of the A.N.C. Youth League, and active in student activities at Fort Hare. Took active part in Defiance Campaign in Port Elizabeth and was twice convicted in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. Son of Professor Matthews.

Matthews, Z. K. - (Second string accused.) Born 1901. Professor. Acting Principal of Fort Hare University College. In 1923 became the first African graduate of Fort Hare College and was also first African law graduate. Took his Master of Arts degree at Yale and post graduate study in Anthropology in London. Served as a member of the Royal Commission on Higher Education for Africans in British East Africa and the Sudan. Member of the Native Representative Council till his resignation in 1950 in protest against Government policy. In 1952 was appointed Henry Luce Visiting Professor of World Christianity in New York. Author of "The Educational Needs of the African", "The Black Man's Outlook" and other publications.

- Mavuso, John A. - (First string accused.) Born 1926. Messenger. Took part in the post-war Shantytown movement in Alexandra township that drew public attention to the acute housing crisis. Was due to write the Junior Certificate Examination the day he was arrested on charge of treason.
- Mayekiso, C. J. - (First string accused.) Born 1913. Trade unionist. Joined the African National Congress in 1942. Active in local campaigns for wages and against rent increases during the war years. Played prominent part in the 1949 Port Elizabeth bus boycott. Arrested in 1955 for organising illegal May Day meeting.
- Meer, Ismail C. - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1918. Attorney. Secretary of the Natal Teachers' Union in the early '40s; secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress during 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign.
- Mei, Pious Goodman - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1912. Trade unionist. Worked as a clerk on the gold mines and joined Congress in 1936. Left the service of the Native Affairs Department to become a factory labourer and then a trade union official.
- Mfafa, Elliot Nzimeni - (First string co-conspirator.) Interpreter-clerk. During Defiance Campaign was awaiting trial in prison for six weeks. An attempt in 1953 by the Stutterheim municipality to expel him under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act failed but has been victimised from his employment for his political activities.
- Mgugunyeka, David H. - (Second string accused.) Born 1906. Commercial traveller. Prominent in the Defiance Campaign in Cape Western, in Langa Congress activities.
- Mini, Vuyisile - (Second string accused.) Born 1920. Labourer. Since 1937 has taken part in campaigns against rent and bus fare increases, against mass removals in Korsten. Served a three month term of imprisonment as a volunteer in the Defiance Campaign. Leader of the Drill Hall Choir and composer of several Congress songs.
- Mkalipi, Simon P. - (First string accused.) Born 1913. Factory canvasser. Has served five prison sentences for political work. Was serving an eight month term for addressing an illegal meeting when he was arrested for high treason, and he completed his sentence at the Drill Hall.
- Mkize, Mrs. Bertha - (Second string co-conspirator.) Teacher and tailoress. Veteran campaigner against passes for women in the 1931, the 1936, and subsequent campaigns.

Mkwayi, Wilton Z. - (First string accused.) Born 1923. Trade unionist. Left school in Standard 4 to work in a dynamite factory and as a stevedore to keep younger brothers and sisters. Victimised and sentenced in 1952 for leading a strike. Key fund-raiser for many campaigns and court actions involving Congress.

Mntwana, Miss Ida Fiyo - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1903. Dressmaker. First president of the A.N.C. Women's League of Transvaal and leader of many mass women's demonstrations from Western Native Township.

Modiba, Frank - (Second string accused.) Born 1909. Cabinet maker. While a youngster in the Tzaneen district refused to tend sheep of an European cattle farmer and received 8 cuts. Came to Johannesburg in 1926, worked as a domestic servant and later in textile and garment factories.

Modise, Johannes - (Second string accused.) Born 1929. Lorry driver. Active in campaigns against the removal of the Western Areas and in the Congress Youth League.

Mohlakoane, Mrs. Martha - (Second string accused.) Born 1906 of a family of farm squatters. Has worked in domestic service for 22 years. Joined Congress in 1939. One of the leaders of Free State women in the anti-pass campaign. Mother of four children.

Mokgofe, Piet - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1914. Labourer. Joined the African National Congress in 1938 and was active in the 1946 African miners' strike.

Molaoa, Patrick Mosell - (First string accused.) Born 1925. Clerk. Pass raids and the disabilities of African youth brought him into the African National Congress. A lightweight boxer since his school days, he runs a gymnasium in Western Native Township.

Molefi, Joseph Sallie Poonyane - (First string accused.) Born 1910. Journalist. Joined the A.N.C. Youth League while a schoolboy. Was one of the leaders of the Evaton bus boycott which ended in complete victory. Arrested on a number of charges rising out of this boycott, but acquitted on all counts.

Monnanyane, Leslie Sonny Thusbo - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1928. Labourer. Came into the A.N.C. during the Defiance Campaign and has been a prominent Free State leader ever since.

Moola, Moosa Mohamed "Mosie" - (First string accused.) Born 1934. Clerk. Expelled from school for joining the Defiance Campaign. Awaiting an appeal against conviction for painting Freedom Charter slogans on Johannesburg walls.

Moonsamy, Kesval - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1926. Indian Congress organiser. Served four months imprisonment in the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign. Helped organise the June 26 Protest Day strike against Suppression of Communism Act in 1950.

Moosa, Dr. Hassen M. "Ike" - (Second string accused.) Born 1923. Medical practitioner. Educated at Fort Hare and the University of Cape Town and active in the political movement since his student days. An executive member of the Franchise Action Council and vice-president of the Cape Indian Assembly.

Moretsele, Elias Phakane - (First string accused.) Born 1897. Restaurant-proprietor. Joined Congress in 1917 and is a veteran of the 1922 struggle against increased poll tax, the 1925 campaign against passes for women, and subsequent struggles.

Morolong, Joseph - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1927. Trade Union organiser and active in the Western Province campaigns.

Morrison, Lionel E. - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1935. Clerk. Had just been released from prison where he served a four month term of imprisonment for painting Freedom Charter slogans on Cape Town walls when he was arrested on the treason charge.

Motala, Dr. Mahomed M. "Chota" - (Second string accused.) Born 1921. Qualified as a medical practitioner at the Grant Medical College, India. Active in student activities there when India was winning her independence. Practises in Pietermaritzburg.

Motshabi, Obed - (Second string accused.) Born 1925. Clerk. Took part in the 1944 Alexandra Township bus boycott movement and the Shantytown Movement after World War II.

Mpho, Motsamai Keyecwe - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1921. Welfare worker on the mines and later clerk. Once arrested under suspicion of being a 'Communist' for having a copy of "When Malan Goes" in his pocket. Active in West Rand campaigns.

Mpoza, Joseph - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1926. Shop assistant. Played a leading role in Worcester strikes and trade union campaigns.

Mqota, Temba D. A. - (Second string accused.) Born 1928. Student. Joined African National Congress in 1946 and supported the Indian struggle against the "Ghetto Act". Prominent in organising the Laundry Workers' Union in Port Elizabeth.

Mtini, John - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1887, The 'Grand Old Man' of the trial who took part in 1929 anti-pass campaigns, the struggle of the unemployed of 1931-2, and the formation of a Railway Workers' Union in 1936 and many subsequent campaigns.

Musi, Theophilus Kgosikobo - (Second string accused.) Born 1936. Clerk. Taught for a while in a primary school but then had to find employment in Johannesburg to support seven orphaned brothers and sisters.

Naicker, Dr. G. M. "Monty" - (Second string accused.) Born 1910. President of the South African Indian Congress. Served two terms of imprisonment of six months each during the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign, and went to prison again after leading the first Natal batch of Defiance Campaign resisters. Toured India's riot areas with Gandhi.

Naicker, M. P. - (Second string accused.) Born 1920. Durban branch manager of 'New Age' newspaper. Formerly secretary of the Agricultural Workers' Federation which organised sugar field workers; secretary of the Natal Passive Resistance Council during the 1946 Campaign.

Naicker, Narainsamy Thumbi - (Second string accused.) Born 1924. Attorney. President of the Non-European Students' Representative Council at the University of Natal in 1952. Active in the Natal Indian Congress since 1945.

Nair, Billy - (Second string accused.) Born 1930. Trade unionist, Secretary of five Natal unions in the tin, chemical, dairy and box industries.

Nathie, Suliman Mahomed "Solly" - (Second string accused.) Born 1918. Businessman. Entered Indian politics in 1939 with the passing of the Pegging Act and started a branch of the Non-European United Front at Kliptown. Charged with public violence and murder during the Evaton bus boycott but acquitted on all counts.

Ndimba, Thembile Benson - (First string accused.) Born 1921. Messenger clerk. Came into active politics in 1937 during the mass removal of the people from the African township of Korsten and one of Korsten's leaders since then.

Nene, Mangisi Pheneas - (First string accused.) Born 1918. Businessman. A leading figure in the Cultural Club movement of the African Education Movement and in Alexandra Township Congress campaigns.

Ngcobo, Abednego Bhekabantu - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1931. Former textile worker, now law student. As president of the Students' Representative Council played a leading role in the fight against academic segregation at the University of Natal.

Ngotyana, Greenwood Dumisa - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1922. Clerk, Secretary of S.A.R. & H. Workers' Union. Arrested in 1955 under the pass laws for illegal entry to Cape Town and is at present under threat of deportation to the Transkei.

Ngoyi, Mrs. Lillian - (First string accused.) Born 1911. Garment worker. Women's leader and a moving spirit in the national anti-pass campaigns sweeping the country.

Ngwendu, William A. - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1904. Insurance agent. Joined Congress in 1937; active in 1943 anti-pass campaign and 1949 Western Areas boycott.

Nkadimeng, John K. - (First string accused.) Born 1925. Trade unionist. Formerly organiser of iron and steel workers. Helped organise volunteers for the Defiance Campaign.

Nkampani, J. - (First string accused.) Born 1910. Businessman. Joined the Industrial and Commercial Union in 1925. In 1943 became a member of the African National Congress. Leader of the Korsten ratepayers and played active part in defending the people's property rights.

Nkosi, Lawrence - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1910. Factory worker. Active trade unionist. Has been hospitalised with tuberculosis for greater part of trial.

Nogaya, A. B. - (Second string accused.) Born 1925. Factory worker. Joined African National Congress in 1949 and during the Defiance Campaign led a batch of 40 volunteers to defy apartheid regulations, for which he served two months imprisonment.

Nokwe, P. P. Duma - (First string accused.) Born 1927. First African barrister in the Transvaal, refused permission by Minister Verwoerd in terms of the Group Areas and Urban Areas Acts, to occupy chambers in Johannesburg.

Nthite, Peter Papela - (Second string accused.) Born 1929. Clerk. Became active in Congress and the Congress Youth League during the Defiance Campaign.

Ntsangani, F. - (First string accused.) Born 1923. Labourer. Joined the African National Congress in 1945. Served a prison term for defying unjust laws during the Defiance Campaign. Among Eastern

Cape leaders arrested under Suppression of Communism Act in 1953.

Nyembe, Miss Dorothy - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1930.

Women's organiser. Served two prison sentences during the Defiance Campaign; led the contingent of Natal women who protested to the Prime Minister in August, 1956, in Pretoria, against passes for women.

Patel, Ahmed Ebrahim - (Second string accused.) Born 1924. Agent.

Key organiser since 1939 of the Transvaal Indian Congress on the East Rand, and appeared for the Congress before numerous hearings of Group Areas Board.

Peake, George Edward - (Second string accused.) Born 1922. Brick-

layer. Served in the South African Navy from 1941 to 1946. Active in trade union campaigns and in campaigns of the Coloured people against the deprivation of their franchise.

Pillay, V. S. M. "Mannie" - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1918.

Trade unionist. Has played a leading role in Durban's trade union movement and is today Durban's secretary of the National Union of Operative Biscuit Makers and Packers.

Poo, Jacob - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1914. Clerk. Joined African National Congress in 1949. Active in Moroka campaigns and on residents' Vigilance Committee.

Press, Dr. Ronald Edwin - (Second string accused.) Born 1929. Chemical engineer. Secretary of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union, but during the trial was served with an order banning him from all gatherings and confining him to Johannesburg for five years.

Ranta, Mrs. Mary Goitsewang - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1922. Machinist. As a girl, herded her father's cattle. Became a union organiser after shooting down of African miners in the 1946 strike.

Resha, Robert M. - (First string accused.) Born 1920. Journalist and sports writer. Active against the removal of Western Areas, in the African Education Movement and Congress campaigns.

Secchoareng, Abraham Barnett Koatihao - (First string co-conspirator.)

Born 1924. Ex-teacher now clerk. Resigned as a teacher when the Bantu Education Act was introduced. Active in the Kimberly ANC.

Seedat, Dawood A. - (Second string accused.) Born 1916. Bookkeeper. Banned from all political activity from 1941 to 1945 under a War Measure. Active in the Non-European United Front, and in the Natal Indian Congress since 1939.

Seitshiro, Bennett - (Second string accused.) Born 1916. Factory worker. Active in the ANC since 1937; helped the 1946 African miners' strike, and a key Congress figure in Newclare.

Sejake, Nimrod - (Second string accused.) Born 1920. Teacher, now a trade unionist. Led a strike of iron and steel workers who won increases of 1d. an hour after a Court appeal had set aside their conviction for striking illegally.

Selepe, Peter Kaye - (First string accused.) Born 1919. Insurance agent. Active in the Springbok Legion and Dube A.N.C. branch.

September, Reginald - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1923. Organised distributive workers and textile workers in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. Secretary of the Franchise Action Council which organised the May 7, 1951, strike against the abolition of the Cape Coloured franchise.

Shall, Sydney - (Second string accused.) Born 1932. Medical student. Volunteered during Defiance Campaign. Active in student affairs at University of Witwatersrand.

Shanley, Mrs. Dorothy - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1920. Nursery school teacher. Mother of three children aged 11, 9 and 7, cared for by friends during the arrest and trial of Dorothy and her husband, Errol.

Shanley, Errol T. - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1911. Book-maker's clerk. Formerly secretary of the Natal Sugar Workers' Union, secretary of Durban Trades and Labour Council for eight years. Served with S.A. Coastal Defence during the war.

Shope, M. J. M. Williams - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1919. Salesman. Took part in a 1935 strike of miners at Gravelotte in the N. Transvaal. A leader of African Laundry Workers' Union.

Sibande, Cleopas - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1928. Clerk. Has taken part in numerous strikes in the Union's largest textile mill, Amato, at Benoni.

Sibande, Gert - (First string accused.) Born 1904. Farm labourers' organiser. Grew up in Bethal, organised farm workers there, and deported from there for his activities.

Sibeko, Archibald - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1928. Trade unionist. Took part in the 1946 students' strike in Lovedale and joined Congress when he left school. Charged in 1956 with inciting African timber workers to strike.

Silinga, Mrs. Annie - (Second string co-conspirator.) Housewife and mother of three children. Deported from Cape Town under the pass laws, in her own words, "Leaving my husband a widower and making my children orphans," but her appeal against this deportation was successful.

Simelane, Pitness H. "Stalwart" - (Second string accused.) Born 1910. Teacher and chemist's assistant. In 1933 helped organise 22 night schools for adult Africans. A leading spirit in many Natal Congress campaigns.

Singh, Debi - (Second string co-conspirator.) Born 1913. Smallholder. In 1944 was the secretary of Anti-Segregation Council which campaigned against the then conservative leadership of the Natal Indian Congress and for the election of the Dadoo-Naicker leadership. Secretary of Natal Passive Resistance Council in 1946.

Sisulu, Walter M. - (First string accused.) Born 1912. Started work in a dairy at age of 15, after being refused work on the mines because of this youth. Foundation member and first treasurer of A.N.C. Youth League, and rose to position of Secretary General of A.N.C. until banned by Government.

Slovo, Joe - (Second string accused.) Born 1926. Barrister. Was defending those arrested for treason when he himself was arrested. Sentenced for contempt of court when objecting to the magistrate's handling of the proceedings at one stage.

Slovo, Mrs. Ruth (Ruth First) - (Second string accused.) Born 1925. Journalist. Staff member 'The Guardian' until its banning by the Government. Now the Transvaal editor 'New Age.' Editor of 'Fighting Talk.'

Tambo, Oliver - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1917 in Pondoland of poor peasant family. Educated at mission schools and on bursaries. Taught science, mathematics and music at St. Peter's School until admitted as an attorney.

Thompson, The Rev. Douglas Chadwick - (Second string Accused.) Born 1905. Methodist Minister. Qualified as a steel moulder, then trained for the ministry in 1928. Chairman of the Witwatersrand Mental Health Society for the last ten years and active in other welfare bodies.

Tshabalala, Mshiywa Henry - (Second string accused.) Born 1930.

Clerk. Was a popular amateur boxer and lost the use of his right eye in the ring. Active in Congress since the Defiance Campaign.

Tshume, Tamsanga Tasgue - (First string accused.) Born 1925. Clerk.

Since his school days has done voluntary work in the trade unions and congress offices. Served a term of imprisonment during the Defiance Campaign and has many times been prosecuted for holding and addressing illegal meetings.

Tshunungwa, Thembeklle Enoch ka - (First string accused.) Born 1923.

Teacher. Was principal of a Transkei primary school and president of the African Teachers' Association but abandoned teaching for political activity. Active in East London struggle against the increase of the lodgers' fee.

Tunsi, Robert - (First string co-conspirator.) Born 1914. Businessman.

Joined the A.N.C. in 1937 and was chairman of the committee which built the first independent primary school in Newclare.

Turok, Ben - (Second string accused.) Born 1927. M.P.C. Land surveyor.

Elected to the Cape Provincial Council during the trial to represent African voters of Cape Western. Secretary of Cape Town Metal Workers Union.

Tyiki, Simon - (First string accused.) Born 1904. Driver. Worked

as farm labourer in Bethal, and later became a lay preacher. Active in Congress since 1951.

Vanga, Mbuyiselo Stanley - First string co-conspirator.) Born 1923.

Labourer. Inspired to join the African National Congress by the Defiance Campaign. Took active part in subsequent Congress Campaigns such as the Bantu Education Boycott. Arrested in 1955 after leading a procession in Korsten.

Yengwa, Massabalala B. "Bonnie" - (Second string accused.) Born 1923.

Bookkeeper, later an articled law clerk. Prominent in the Defiance Campaign. In 1953 was banned from entering seven main magisterial districts in the Union and was banished for two years to Mapemula, a place he had left 17 years before.

APPENDIX B

(All Detective Reports reproduced verbatim.)

COPY OF NOTES MADE BY COL./DET./SGT. ISAAC SHARP, MEETING OF "LET THE PEOPLE SPEAK COMMITTEE," SOPHIATOWN, 28.2.54.

Let the People Speak Committee meeting, Victoria & Morris St., Sophiatown.

10 a.m., 28/2/54.

Chairman R. Resha:

Sons and daughters, I declare this meeting open. I want to make known that the meeting is called by the People Speak Committee, a Committee which believes that everybody has a right to speak. The Committee believes no man has a right to tell any man not to speak. Neither Swart or Malan or the Government of this country can not say that the people must not speak in the land of their birth. I want to say, sons and daughters of Africa, that in effect when God created man and gave him the right to speak and no man has the right to tell another man not to speak. Why then . . . the Government of this country who calls themselves Christians, why have they decided to stop other people . . . not to speak in 1950. They brought about the Suppression of Communism Act which they deemed good in their minds. This Satanic Act, Swart said, . . . the Communists were . . . the Government and said men belonging to certain organisations were also sabotaging the Government. Among those organisations, he mentioned the Youth of Sophiatown; this was a deliberate lie. Your leaders told you that the Suppression of Communism was intended to suppress . . . your leaders. This is because your leaders told you about your freedom and your oppression. Some of our leaders have been banned and forbidden to take part in any organisation. That is why the Government sends the Police to our meetings because this Swart wants to ban our meetings and they want to gag our leaders. Yes, this country is reaching the stage to which the people of Kenya found themselves. In Kenya the British Imperialists brought the oppression first, all the people of Kenya were robbed of their rights and when that great son and great African leader Jomo Kenyatta protested, he was arrested. It was said that the Mau Mau wanted to drive the white people to the sea. . . . done because the scum of the European people did not want to live with the Africans in peace and on equality. Today the people of Kenya are being shot down by the British soldiers. They are doing this to prove the European superiority. . . seen that

Copy of notes submitted as evidence in the Treason Trial of Farid Adams and Twenty-Nine Others, Reel 9, L.C., Washington, D.C.

even in this country the Government wants to do what is being done to the people of Kenya. In the Burger, a report appeared saying that chain letters called Cheesa Cheesa have been sent to all members of Parliament and it is said in these letters that all properties belonging to Europeans will be burnt down. We don't know anything about these letters . . . that there is no such organisation as Cheesa Cheesa but those are the work of the Provocateurs. The policy of the A.N.C. is that all the people . . . should live in harmony in this country. Friends, the gentle man who has just come is Dr. Yusef Dadoo. I am glad that Dr. Dadoo comes while the detectives are present so that they can see how much we regard Dr. Dadoo and that he is our leader. Swart can say what he likes, we the sons and daughters of Africa, we only choose whom we want as our leader. I want to tell Swart through his detectives that he can take our leaders away but many will be born. I want to warn the Government of Malan that it must not keep taking away our leaders. They will find themselves in trouble. I want to tell you that we the Africans must organise ourselves. Dr. Verwoerd is busy making laws to remove us from here even on the ground we are now It is said that he is Minister of Native Affairs ; he is not. He is a Minister of European defence. Are we prepared to fight? Now I'm going to read to you this circular calling this meeting. Swart says the leaders must not speak. We want to tell him that we will continue speaking. You sons are going to be sent to the Concentration Camps by the Government of this country. There are thousands whom it is said, won't work. These are your sons in the land of their birth to whom it is said they won't work. If in your own country, it is said you won't work, then in what country will you live in peace? This is said by this Satanic Government reply to the Government so that this Government will shake, and even the pencils of the detectives will break while writing your decisions. I want Tyiki to come to the platform and say a few . . . our visitors. We will continue to struggle until these people represent us in Parliament. Swart replying in Parliament, said that the Natives will never be satisfied with anything given them. We won't be satisfied until these people represent us in Parliament.

2nd - S. Tyiki:

My people the Africans you have heard what Mr. Resha told you about your leaders who are in our midst today. Before introducing the leaders, I want to ask you this, do you want freedom? If yes, are you prepared to fight for freedom? Are you prepared to die? I ask you again. If freedom is only obtained through death, are you prepared to die? We don't want to put our leaders in trouble. As you see the lions are standing in front of you sent by Malan. We in the name of Sophiatown we welcome them. Malan wants to remove us from here. We want to know what our leaders . . . going to say to us about this Malan's removal. If they say we must not move from here then we are prepared to die. We the people of Sophiatown, we are with them in body and in spirit. Let us welcome them by saying Africa.

Chairman:

I have always told you that when you . . . Africa you must say it in such a way that even the walls of oppression must shake.

3rd. - P. Moretsele:

You can even see that even the detectives who are taking notes are lifting up their ears . . . shout of Africa. I want to show how the United States of Africa are going to govern this country without colour discrimination. You must not believe what Malan or Strauss are saying in their papers. They agree because they make all the laws which oppress us. They are ruling us because we are not united. If we were united they would not rule us. The detectives who are taking notes they know what we say is the truth. They won't be long taking these notes because we are going to take over soon and we will be united. It is not a shame to go to jail for the truth. This is not a Congress meeting, but called by the Let the People Speak Committee. The Government appointed Verwoerd and they know that we hate Verwoerd because he wants to remove us to municipality locations where we are going to be asked for passes. Here you can't be asked passes. Verwoerd made these new passes so that you can be forced to work for Koos. The Europeans . . . because they . . . the civilization comes from them . . . custom that anybody must be thought first by somebody. That is why the Nationalists have made Verwoerd of Native Affairs because they know that he will be a stumbling block in the way of the Africans. The Sunday Express of this morning says there are Africans who are making guns. If the black people can make guns why can they not make seaplanes? There is . . . talk going about concerning Cheesa Cheesa letters; don't believe this nonsense. There is no such thing as Cheesa Cheesa. This is only a plan to forbid Congress meetings (that thing called freedom, this is a very important thing.). If you don't know what it means, go to the people who know about freedom. They will tell you the meaning of freedom. I want to make known to you this - that one of our people who was arrested for a piece of paper and then was sent to Bethal where he was killed and You have seen people being . . . order to send them to the farms. I am a leader of the A.N.C. I am out to organise you to join Congress.

Chairman:

Sons and daughters of Africa. We thank Mr. Moretsele for his speech. He has told you about Bethal. Perhaps you don't. . . our feelings until you yourselves go to Bethal. If the people who are fighting for freedom are mad, then all of us must be mad. Mr. Bopape was a teacher by profession; he had to resign his post in order to fight for freedom. The Minister of Injustice Swart had banned him and the judges said he can speak again to you.

4th. - D. W. Bopape:

Ladies and Gentlemen. I can see that the people of Sophiatown are not happy. I can see this from your faces. I can see that there is

pain in your hearts. The English uses the lions to frighten the people. Whether the Rhinoceros will move freely in his forest lays with you and two years ago I was debarred. . . speak; even now I don't know how long I am going to be allowed to speak to you. So much has been said about the removal of the black spots. What is the black spot; ask yourselves what is the black spot. Black spot is when you have passed matriculation or have built a nice house, that is black spots. The White man told us about Christianity. There is no discrimination based on colour of the man and that in Christianity there are people of different racial groups in these different groups whom . . . has been made in the image of God. Is God black or white? We see the Government sitting on the backs of the black people. They do as Saul did when he was destroying Christians and how then can the Christianity be applied to us. So friends you are . . . Sophiatown because you are not carrying permits. I am also guilty because I am telling you nice words and that you are nice people. Some of you have built nice houses and collect rent; they don't work for a White man. They are Bosses and Misses themselves. Congress has long spoken that no man can build another man a house. You can build your own houses. In the locations you are only given a house with three rooms . . . , no matter what is the size of your family; that means everything is limited for you. We can build our own house according to our designs. Another thing which the Government cannot . . . is the question of transport. You know that already the trains are overcrowded and a great portion of your wages go to the train fares. This shows that the Rhinoceros is still in the zoo. We see the Government year after year going to Parliament passing laws to oppress the black man. If I have to tell you about all the laws, I will take the whole day; but before I end, I would like to speak about the abolition of Passes Act which the Africans call the Testament of the Devil. You can't go to Randfontein carrying it and you can be told where you must go and work. Through this pass, it can be said . . . are not a person . . . born in Johannesburg. This is the Devil's Testament created by Verwoerd. (The Bantu) Education Act is to make you . . . how to cook vegetables in the kitchens and how to greet a white man. Our children are going to be taught how to deliver letters only and that he must know that he is inferior Christianity has no colour discrimination, but why this discrimination in education? It would appear that the Rhinoceros is being destroyed before it builds up the mighty people. The people of this country launched the defiance campaign. The Government was shaken to its very foundation. This showed that the people of this country can be lions when they want to make themselves lions; in fact the people of this country showed that they are not afraid of Swart's jails. We saw Indians, Europeans, Africans and Coloureds going to jail showing their determination to fight for freedom. You see what has taken place in Rhodesia, Kenya and Egypt. The people . . . to showing the British that they are fighting for self-determination in their country. We want to send to Parliament those whom we want to represent us. They will soon see . . . the Rhinoceros . . . free you, although you are earning L2 per month and yet you are owning beautiful houses and cars. Before

we used to send deputation after deputation to Parliament. Now we are no longer going to send deputations. But we are going to fight for our rights to the end. The Government is busy tripping the leaders. But when one falls out, another will take his place. Even the African women are now taking their place in the political field. Our sole purpose and message this morning is that we are working determinedly for complete freedom in Africa. In the new Africa, a new Constitution will be drawn up. In this new Africa, there shall be no colour bar. Everyone will be eligible to be elected to Parliament; everybody will be free to own land and free education will be given. You will be entitled to regard yourself as a human being, not regarded as lizards. In that new Africa we will have the Police, but the Police will not come take notes in innocent meetings like this one but . . . see to the criminals. Our message is this when you are called to join the match of Dadoo, Marks, Luthuli, accept it with a smile. When you are told that you must not move from Sophiatown, you must not move. Only in this way we can cross the boundary of oppression to the land of honey. Sons and daughters of Africa, you have been long oppressed. Wake up now.

Dr. Dadoo:

Mr. Chairman and friends. I am very glad for having been invited to speak to you this afternoon by the L.P.S.C. I am also glad to see that the representatives of the Minister of Injustice are taking notes. Noting down word by word all what we are saying. I want to make this clear, that this meeting is called by the L.P.S.C. which stands for racial harmony among all the races in this country. We are not creating racial hostilities, but only those who sit in Parliament are creating racial hostilities. If there is anybody to be charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act, they are those sitting in Parliament. I hope this will be quite clear to the representatives of the Minister of Injustice. The Government banned hundreds of people under the Suppression of Communism Act and . . . told them to resign from their organisations. When the Suppression of Communism Act was discussed in Parliament, we protested . . . pointed out at the same time that this act will be applied to others . . . who are not Communists. This Minister of Injustice Mr. Swart thought that he had taken upon himself . . . powers, but when Ngwevela took his case to Appeal Court . . . the Court said the Minister can not ban people without giving them a hearing. As I am speaking to you today the second reading of the amendment to the Act has been made which gives the Minister more power over the subject. Today in all parts of this country, protest meetings are being held against this Amendment. Some people say what is the . . . of protesting, after all the bill will be made law. Anyhow if the people protested at the time when the S.C. Act was passed, the Government would not have passed this Act. We are going to protest until the Government comes to its senses and understands that we don't want these Acts. We know that the Police will try to intimidate the people like what they did in Durban where names of people were taken in order to terrorise the people. The people refused

to be terrorised. . . . meetings like this one . . . the country. Something else has now arisen; the Cheesa Cheesa Chain letter addressed to Members of Parliament and the Senate saying that the European farms are going to burn and trains will be derailed and many other things. I am declaring from this platform that these letters are not from non-Europeans but from the Nationalists themselves in order to terrorise their supporters. You know that this Minister of Injustice is acting like Hitler acted in Germany. Hitler told van der Lubbe, a Hollander, that he should go and burn the Reichstage and gave him Communist tickets. They made a big noise about it. Hitler/Swart said that he had information that Communists are going to poison water supplies now almost four years since. He made this report but nothing has so far happened. We say that we shall not be responsible for these Cheesa Cheesa letters. We have another Hitler in the person of Schoemann who has already made a law, the settlements of disputes, which . . . main objective is to destroy trade unions. He has another bill before Parliament; it is the Reconciliation Act which is going to create apartheid in the Trade Unions so that he can tell the people how much can they . . . work . . . they can do and under this act he can determine for each racial group what kind of work they can do. We have another Minister who wants to become a bigger Hitler who has passed a law, the pass law. Giving the people a big book . . . this book is to enable him to ban the people from the city. He has also passed the Bantu Authorities Act which . . . aim is to destroy the unity of the African people and take them back to their tribal life. He also passed two other Acts, the Urban Areas Amendment Acts - under these acts he wants to take power upon himself to remove the people of the Western Areas to a bare veld at Meadowlands. My advice to the people of the Western Areas is to protest . . . and that they should protest now . . . them, show Verwoerd the Minister of Madness that you are not prepared to move. You should protest louder and louder until they hear you in Parliament. There is another Minister of Madness, Dr. Donges, who has passed the Group Areas Act which is to divide the people in racial groups - who wants to disrupt the life of the people and destroy their business concerns. There is another Minister in Parliament Havenga who is the Minister of Finance, who is not taxing the Mines but the poor people. When the bread price was raised, the people protested and with the result that the price was brought down. This shows you what a protest can do. In the Mines there are not enough labourers. All the Mines are complaining about shortage of labourers. That is why all these . . . are made to force the people to go to the Mines. They also want slave labourers for the farms and at this moment there are about 3,000,000 farm slaves. They have the cheek to say that they are making apartheid in order to keep the non-European down and yet they have 3,000,000 slaves-labourers. They want the black people to be their slaves and oppress them. We also want to live as free men. We want to live together as one community. Before I come to end, I want to point out that the white man wants to bring disunity amongst the non-European and also cause suspicions

amongst the non-Europeans. Another plan they want to apply, they want to disrupt the national organisation. You have heard of Mr. Bhengu who is the President of the Bantu Congress. The Prime Minister said that Bhengu has 400,000 followers. But Dr. Donges went further at the UNO by saying that Bhengu had 2,000,000 members. The Native Affairs Dept. placed at Bhengu's disposal a Buick car and a driver and was told to visit all the farmers collecting money for his Congress. The farmers whom he visited . . . set with him at their tables. Why . . . they then set with him in their tables when they want apartheid? They said Bhengu was a goele kaffir and the farmers used to deduct money off their pay for the Bantu Congress. This was done in order to cause friction between the Indians and the Africans. They are now looking for another Bhengu because Bhengu appeared before the Magistrate in Pietermaritzburg. Another Bhengu went to N.A.D. in Pretoria and said he is willing to take Bhengu's place to cause disruption between Indians and Africans. There (are) also Bhengu's amongst the Coloureds, the Kleurling Volk-bond, going about causing friction between Indians and Coloured people and other non-Europeans. But the Coloured people are refusing to listen to them because the Group Areas applies to them too and that their votes are being taken. Indians have also Bhengus . . . the S.A.I. Organisation, this body is also acting like Bhengu. This body has never had a public meeting. This organisation has gone to Malan and Dr. Donges. They have said we don't want to get mixed with politics because we are only a handful and on the other side we have a big African population and Europeans who also don't like us and the Minister said that . . . Indian people . . . their one organisation is the Indian Congress. Show me first that you are the support of the My message to you is that we build a big National Organisation and to work in unity. You will be told by your organisation about this big powerful Convention which will speak for all the people- Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Africans. Bopape, Marks and myself, we are not allowed to take part in the activities of our organisation but we have the right to tell you to join this big united powerful organisation so that we will sweep away all the oppression and fascism Government of Malan so that the people will be able. . . .

J. B. Marks:

Mr. Chairman, friends and the representatives of the Government I greet you all before beginning with my political speech. I wish to congratulate those men who have organised this meeting. Sophiatown has never been like this before. Friends, the spirit is haunting Africans. The spirit is the spirit of fascism, the bigger farmer, the big Industrialist, the big Mines, they have come together to create hell for the non-Europeans and to suck your blood and for many years they have . . . searching the whole of South Africa for a man to carry out their policy and now they have found a refuge in the Nationalist Party and it was said that Smuts was too weak to carry out their policy. It has been decided to place all the people in this country in a position from where they will not be able to act for themselves. They are people who are in kraal of the enemy; I am going to tell you who are these. . . . will first deal

with the Indians, then with Coloureds. You can see how unfortunate we are, we have the . . . Government to divide us. When are we going to wake? The day is dawning for us to wake, otherwise we will be crushed. They have started with the Africans who they say they are the most undeveloped. But they have found that these people are the most dangerous. They can shoot at them. Put them into jails, this won't help. Today if you look at the . . . of the banned men you will find Indians, Coloureds, Jews, Africans but yet there are people who refuse to look at the facts as they are. Even the Ministers of religion and Teachers . . . they want to hold them down. They will have to speak out. How can you pray to God when you are hungry and the Police are after our children . . . are being hunted down and wives are being arrested. You will have to go and fight with the enemy. We have prayed to God but . . . answer. We say to God if you're having a picnic, suspend it and come down and help us from Malan. You may not agree with . . . you may regard as Anti-Christian. But you must judge me by action. We have come to you, not to create racial hostilities, but to point out to you the enemy of the people. We have found in the Nationalist Government . . . embodiment of oppression. The Government is creating racial strife because the path they are following can lead South Africa to catastrophe. . . . We have the key to the problems in South Africa. Dr. Malan hasn't got the key to the problems in South Africa. Year after year they meet in Parliament saying they are trying to solve the non-European Problems. But they have completely failed. The real problem in South Africa is the White problem; in fact they want to make South Africa the White man's haven. In their kitchens and stores they have Africans working. If you visit to any jail in South Africa, there are . . . thousands. Where in South Africa are they creating enmity between whites and non-whites? They in Parliament are creating racial disharmony. As we are here today, are we speaking racialism? Is this . . . Western Civilisation? If I were a White man, I would have never allowed to be made fools of by Verwoerd. One of their fellow men shot and killed 8 Africans and another one was cut to pieces . . . place in the mealie land. Mr. Swart is busy legislating laws to deal with a man like myself. I am not a mad man. When then . . . a white man did at Rustenburg where a wife of a man who was being assaulted by the so-called civilised white people. God first makes . . . wants to destroy God moves in a mysterious way. The people who say they are going to give your children an adulterated education. . . . A man who says that the Advisory Boards must be destroyed, if there is one man who has been discovered in this country is Dr. Verwoerd. I am going to tell you that Verwoerd was . . . never elected to Parliament but he was brought in by the back door. The Minister of Justice is drunk with Minister of Native Affairs, is drunk with power, all are drunk with . . . time is drawing nigh. Hitler was also drunk with power and said to his armies to kill all people. Kill children, even unborn children. What (does) Dr. Verwoerd say today. . . . Western Areas . . . destroy the children and wives . . . what he says . . . in the education teach them

to draw water only so that they must not be able to resist Schoeman . . . say . . . I . . . can deal with you one by one. I don't want people to go to Court. I must only be responsible to God. Swart wants to close Churches. Even if they were Africans, we would call them a batch of lunatics. You can never put a Rhinoceros in a crate. I know the last time we went to jail you stood four-square behind us. I am going to ask Vundla to sing one of the National Anthems. While this is being sung, give donations. I want to tell you how much has been called and that the amount is in proportion with people present here. The money will go to the national . . . not for us. The Nationalists are out to stamp the . . . of the people. They are doing everything in their attempt to do so. I am not going to call you to embark on a Mau Mau campaign because I am not mad. I am not going to call you to write Cheesa Cheesa. I am going to call you to use a weapon which has been proved in the . . . of history, to join your organisations and be united like the Afrikan people have done after fighting the Boer War. And now they want a republic and have a President which will be responsible to God only . . . in a republic, . . . will force you to anything they like. Can you imagine in the 20th century. . . they will be crushed. That is why I say they have come to the end of their power. . . . Who builds this country? We have gone to the bowels of the earth. Who is doing the washing? Who is ploughing on the farms? Who are digging potatoes with their nails? Who are cutting the plantations? The labourer is the guns of the civilised world. The guns are weapons of the savages. The Mau Maus are the British creation. That is why we say it's rubbish- the Cheesa Cheesa. It won't be a wonder when the Police are going to watch the Western Areas searching for the original Cheesa Cheesa letters. When they fail, they will plant copies. The majority of the Government supporters are beginning to see light; they are beginning to shout leave these people. We have been living with these people all these years. I am not speaking long because I am not going to speak again. Now I am still going to speak for a long time. He is going to be removed very soon. I heard the police are not happy about these unpopular laws. These men in the Police Force who understand say . . . God relieves us. If we speak against the Police, it is because they are carrying out these notorious laws in a rough manner. We know that they have to carry out these laws. But gentlemen . . . them in a better manner. We quarrel with the . . . they have handled us, they have used vulgar language. The match has been played and the Government has won. The Government tripped our players and a new team has been You must only think to fight with your hands. In the Bioscope you see Tarzan not fighting with his hands but screaming then all the other animals run away. We must also at times scream. We are 1,000,000; our scream will frighten those who are oppressing us.

Chairman:

Sons and daughters of Africa, you have been told what the Government of this country is doing to us.

Resolution:

This mass of the Western Areas . . . under the auspices of the Let the People Speak Committee . . . registering of protest against gagging of our leaders . . . demands repeal of the Suppression of Communism Act . . . Riotous (Assemblies Act) . . . which gives Swart autocratic power. The meeting registers its protest against the taking the rights of . . . our lands. And that the Government to take its hands off the rights of the people. I want to remark on what Mr. Marks said. That those whom the gods want to destroy first make them mad. The African people are marching forward. No amount of force will stop the African. We use no guns against Swart and his agents. They can think whatever they want to think but the people are marching forward. We will achieve our freedom during our time. Next Sunday we will have a meeting here; all are asked to attend. The detectives are not invited but I know they are force to come. We may tolerate at present. The time is coming when we will not tolerate them.

1:55 p.m.

COPY OF NOTES MADE BY COLOURED DETECTIVE SERGEANT ISAAC SHARP, SOUTH AFRICAN DIVISIONAL HEADQUARTERS, THE GRAYS, ATTACHED TO THE SPECIAL BRANCH. AT A MEETING OF "LET THE PEOPLE SPEAK COMMITTEE," SOPHIATOWN, 7 MARCH 1954.

Isaac Sharp, No. 16380 . . . states:

I am a Coloured Detective Sergeant in the South African Police, Divisional Headquarters, The Grays, attached to the Special Branch. On Sunday the 7th March '54 I attended a meeting of the "Let the People Speak Committee." The meeting commenced at about 10:10 a.m. and ended at about 1:25 p.m. Attendance about 600 people present of both sexes. All Natives and 2 Indians. The meeting was orderly throughout.

Chairman R. Resha:

You will have to stand in the rain. Last Sunday you were told that this Sunday a meeting . . . under the Let the People Speak Committee. It would be a proper thing for me this morning to address you in my mother tongue. Because there are many other non-Europeans who may not understand my language. Therefore the common language which will be understood by everybody is English. This will also be an advantage to those who have come to take down what we are saying. I would not run away from those people who have chosen to oppress the people of South Africa. If we are sincere we should ask God to give us back our land. We should be holding this meeting in a hall. But we have none. Where we can hold our meeting where we can pass resolutions against dragonical laws passed by Malan. This show that even in rain we will not stop to fight Malan.

This Sunday again is given to the Let the People Speak Committee. Malan has forbidden our leaders to speak in the organisations of which they are members. But yet they can still speak to you. Why the Government of Malan is banning people from speaking? It is not because they have openly spoken against his vicious laws? It is not true that these men have spoken against pass laws. It is not true that sons of Africa have been paraded in the streets . . . because of that dirty paper. It is not true that your cells at Newlands are full of your sons? It is not true that your wives have been arrested for brewing liquor. It is not true that the Government of Malan is building camps for the . . . some of the land? It is not true that Verwoerd, this Minister of European Defense is against you. It is not true that when your leaders tell you these naked truths they are branded

Notes submitted as evidence in the Treason Trial of Farid Adams and Twenty-Nine Others, Reel 9, L. C., Washington, D. C.

as Communists. It is not true that the African Policemen are not paid as European Policemen. It is not true that the African Sergeants come under a European Consts. It is not true that this Government will go to the Platteland and get the poor Dutch men to join the police. Why Malan and Swart sons do not join the Police Force? It is because they know that the Police are enforcing their dragonical laws. Under what reason we meet this morning? It is because we want to tell you about this Government's vicious laws and to educate these Government servants who should be with their wives but are with us taking notes of what we say. We should all live happily in this country.

People who are called Communists have never been Communists. They are people who have told you that you are not well paid and that you are starving. These are the people who have been told that they are Communists. We are no longer prepared to be oppressed in our motherland. We are prepared to go to any length to get back our motherland. We know if we are determined and united not even Swart can stop us. The moment we are united no passes will be asked in Sophiatown. The people are not foolish to allow a man to come in your house and stand in your door and ask you for your pass. This is a document to be produced when you pass a Policeman. Your home is your kingdom. Is this the white civilization? Which we will never emulate. We believe that in South Africa we can all live peacefully. Black, Yellow and White. If there are people in South Africa who are not happy then they must leave this country. There are people used by the Government going about saying that we are not prepared to live with the Indians; this is a lie. We alone going to decide who is going to live with us. We the Sons and Daughters of Africa. Malan won't be with us when we decide this. You are told that you must leave your beautiful houses to go to Meadowlands. But the people of the Western Areas says that they are prepared to leave their homes. If the Government want to expropriate our properties they can do so. But we are not prepared to sell to the Government. The people who are going to address you today are here. They are people who have been banned. Mr. Cachalia devoted his whole life fighting for freedom of the Non-Euro-peoples also. Mr. Mandela will address you; he was elected by the people of the Transvaal to be President. But the Minister of Injustice Mr. Swart banned him. In my capacity as Chairman I am going to call the speakers to address you. Sons and daughters of Africa, I am going to call Mr. Cachalia.

2nd Speaker, Y. A. Cachalia said:

Mr. Chairman and friends I am grateful to you to give me this chance to speak to the people of Sophiatown. I want to speak before Parliament pass this gagging law. I may not be able to speak to you again. I want to tell you about this vicious government. It is significant when a government stop people from speaking, this is a sure sign of weakness. The people who are speaking on behalf of the Congresses are expressing the feelings of the people. If I am speaking

nonsense you will not listen to me. But if I am speaking the sentiments of the people then you will lift up your ears. For 7 years the government of Malan have been ruling with Fascism laws. For 7 years we have been under tyranny. The people are being attacked by the Police for no reason. The Police act unjustly and illegal. You remember June last year we had a meeting to protest against the removal of the Western Areas. The people of the Western Areas to tell Verwoerd that they are not prepared to be removed from the Western Areas in a peaceful manner. The Police came then with machine guns and some people were arrested. I was one of those who were arrested. While outside Newlands Police Station I saw a thing I have never heard or seen before in this country. I saw a Police van coming fast and stopped. Then came out an elderly African woman screaming and the same time she was kicked from behind by a European policeman. She cried out saying, "Oh God what has happened?" This is what is happening in South Africa. I have seen people being kicked in the streets and a young man going with his children taking them to school was taken to Fordsburg Police Station and there bitten (beaten) up for no apparent reason. And when he wanted to lay a charge against the Policeman concerned instead he was charged for obstructing the Policeman. When we protest about all these things Swart bans us. These places from which you are to be removed were established about . . . 50 years ago by the government of the day. The government gave these places to the people. Now the Government say is going to take your homes and destroy your livelihood and take you to Meadowlands where there is only water taps. The removal of the people who are enjoying free life here your visitors here need not get permits as like other places in the locations. When you have a visitor you can't put him in your room with lodgers permit. Here you have the electricity which you can't get anywhere. Here you can own property if you have sufficient money to pay. Therefore you have freedom of owning landed property. Now you are not wanted by the Government to have freedom. People are going to resist. Who can leave his home. . . without resistance? That is why the Government terrorized the people by the Police. Look at this isolation of the Western Areas by the Removal of the people. In the Western Areas we know what the passes mean to the Africans. It means separation of father from the son and people sent to the farms. The Africans have virtually deprived the means to organise free Trade Unions. They also do the same to the Coloureds and Indians. The Government is also attacking the Europeans too. They impoverishing our people. They have little security. The government by its action is busy causing disrespect between the Europeans and non-Europeans. Why they are doing this in S. A. ? If we don't understand these things then we don't anything. They are doing this in order to bring about the baskap. This is not that the white man should become baas over us, but that the Nationalists should become baas over us. We are telling Malan's government that we are not prepared to allow them to become our baasses. They want to enslave the people. Slavery is death. We don't want slavery. We in our Congresses or Unions will never allow tyranny. This is the truth which cannot be denied. I can say that this is impossible,

the people will never allow themselves to be enslaved. The organisation of the people should stand up and stop the banning of their leaders. It is the intention of the Government to remove the leaders and ban organisations. When a leader is banned you must create 100 leaders for each leader banned by Swart. The time is short you must work with great determination and make all the people in your areas members of Congress. The people must stop the banning of the leaders. Not a single non-European in S. A. . . . likes this nonsensical oppression of the Nationalists. If we don't like the oppression and baskap what must we do? There are few Europeans in Parliament. Can not defeat us. Malan alone can do nothing. The Nationalists are to be eradicated. All should fight and organise themselves. Then the Nationalists will have to run without shoes. This is not a mere saying but a fact because the whole of the Industry are in the hands of the non-Europeans everything that moves in S. A. Trains, Machineries, Buildings lies in the hands of the non-Europeans. We can overthrow. Don't be afraid of the Police or Jails or that Gogga Malan everything they do bring more soldiers for the struggle of the non-Europeans. The removal of the Western Areas will bring more soldiers to the struggle. They want to exterminate us. They think they can kill the African people as they killed the Bushmen. Today in S. A. we are 10,000,000 and Nationalists are only few. We will be able to defeat the Nationalists. The people of South Africa must eliminate the Nationalists.

Chairman said:

You have heard what Mr. Y. A. Cachalia told you about Sophiatown. I thank you for the attention you have given me. The rain must . . . stop us from asking for our freedom. We can't go to Parliament and speak to those who sit in Parliament in order to oppress us. We don't worry about a colour of a man. Why should we worry about a colour of a man. I think it is because of that Colour madness we have all these troubles, let me remind you that this meeting is called under the auspices of the Let the People Speak Committee. The Chairman of the Sophiatown branch have asked me to tell the people to come to the table those who want to join Congress.

3rd Speaker: N. R. Mandela said:

Mr. Chairman and friends. When the people rise and demand their freedom even the heavens reciprocate. 42 Years ago the Free State, Natal, Cape and the Transvaal decided to form one government and it was also decided that the non-European will become a member and it was also decided to set up a Dept. of Native Affairs. This was a very significant decision because it showed that Africans will be treated differently from others and from that day a string of laws was made in order to perpetuate his inferiority. In those days people could buy land wherever they wanted in towns and cities and in 1913 a law was made which robbed the Africans of their rights. Mr. Sol. Flaatsjes who was then Secretary of the African National Congress, has written

a book telling us stories in it. One of the story he is telling us is that the people died of exhaustion and hunger, together with their children. These were things done by the white people to our people. These things were done by people who professed Christianity.

A wave of protests against the Land Act, which made Africans landless. There began a feeling of common objective against the Government in the Cape, fighting for freedom. In 1912 the A. N. C. was established, which has now spread to all the provinces. In the first Conference came people from all the provinces who expressed indignation against the oppression of the people. These people were then faithfully representing the A. N. C., the National Organisation, as it is today it represent not a particular people, but all Basutos, Zulus, Xosa. Not representing a particular class, but Chiefs, Workers, Peasants, Lawyers, and doctors. The leaders of the A. N. C. of these days started off by passing resolutions that they will be able to bring to the Europeans what they considered unfair. The time was bound to come that all the potentialities for action will come. I am not going to tell you in detail the history of Congress you all know it. But is right to tell you that since that time the A. N. C. had its ups and downs. But has never failed you and it had important mission of pleading with the government for you, but without success. Then a militant action was decided in 1949 in Bloemfontein at a Conference attended by Africans from all parts of the Union, where they decided to boycott. They decided upon strikes, civil disobedience. Since then the A. N. C. had a consistent and militant action taken. The Nationalists have done something which is visible to all. The A. N. C. in 1950 launched on first of May that all people should not go to work and on June 26th also. In 1952 launched that mighty Campaign of Defiance, 5000 took part, Indians, Coloureds, Europeans and Africans. They came back from jails with this in mind that they have created a mighty organisation which will take any ambitious action in future. What concerned the people of Sophiatown in particular is the removal of Sophiatown. It is very important that we should make this clarity that those who want to go with the Nationalists must go to the Nationalists side. I will tell you that Malan have decided to remove you without any consultation with you or your leaders and to take you and throw you in an open veld. They have appointed a Commission concerned with the removal of the Western Areas, but in that Commission not a single African have been asked to serve. Although this matter concerns Africans. Now they are considering a law to give Verwoerd more powers to remove you, and to compel the City Council to pay for your removal. From this you can see that this is not a play, but they mean business. Are you prepared to submit to the decision of the Nationalists to challenge you? We can not avoid a major crisis. If we submit we would be saying to the Nationalists that we have no right to own land. We will be submitting so that the government can do what they like with us. If we refuse to be removed there will be a major clash against the Africans and the forces of fascism. I have moved amongst African people in Sophiatown and other parts of Johannesburg. I know what they say. I

know that solidarity exists. I know that when we are forced to the clash between the forces of liberation and fascism, the forces of liberation will triumph. On that day all of us will be in Sophiatown.

It is no use to come to meetings only unless we are prepared to organise the people. The Government is busy appointing commissions, passing laws and arming itself. What are you doing? The Government and the Police are going around Sophiatown visiting the leaders and field workers asking them where they come from. The reason for these first steps is that the government and the Police action is that they should precisely know whom to remove from Sophiatown. The question we must ask each other in your homes, trains and working places. What must we do in order to fight the government. To enable you to answer from your hearts there are certain propositions. Firstly is that a mighty organisation be established which will stand against the government. Secondly what you must do in that all people should become members of Congress and that by next week you are members of Congress here or in areas where you live. That is the first and most important factor, to become a member of a political organisation where you live and go to your colleagues and friends. Tell them about the organisation you belong to, fighting for freedom. As Mr. Cachalia said that the government depends on the Africans willing or not willing. If the non-Europeans will withdraw that co-operation the Government will fall like a house of cards. Therefore you refuse to work with the Government and refuse to sell your property to the Government. You must also remember and understand that the methods of passing resolutions at meetings and then send them to the Government has been found useless. Also begging for favours from those who govern never helps because those in Parliament never pay any attention to those things. Those who want freedom are those who are prepared to support a violent rebellion and militant action. I think the first people to admit that this is true are all the Afrikaner people. The English had Afrikaner spies who went about the country telling the people that the British have a net which they can cast around anybody. But when the time came they challenged the British Imperialists and the Afrikaners drove the British Imperialists away. People like General Hertzog and General Smuts who were famous lawyers, took up arms and fought for their people. That is the only way to be prepared in South Africa is to prepare the people for a violent rebellion. We are in a better position to fight against the forces of reaction than the Afrikaner people were, when they fought the British Imperialists. I say we have 10,000,000 people against 2,000,000 whites. We can force a mental hatred against the oppressors and anyone who stand against freedom. I know as I know that the sun will rise in the East tomorrow that a major clash will come and all forces of reaction will eclipse against the forces of liberation. We know that there are many people and some educated Africans going and telling the people that you are a backward people and that the government have the Police, the Army. They will crush you if you rise against them. They are saying precisely what

was said by certain Afrikaners to other Afrikaners, that the English are powerful, you can not fight against them.

What is happening in Kenya where the British will all their . . . have failed to subdue the people of Kenya, who are fighting walking barefooted and hungry. They have done everything possible. They have arrested their leader Jomo Kenyatta. They have banned their political organisation, the Kenya Union. They have shot thousands of people and children. They have poured boiling water over women trying to force them to admit that Jomo Kenyatta administered Mau Mau oath on them. They have castrated men in broad daylight and all kinds of brutalities and now they are talking about Peace.

What has happened in Malaya? They have been fighting for the last 10 years without arms, but they have failed to crush them.

What has happened in Vietminh? The French have brought their best arms, but they have failed to crush the people of Vietminh and these people are now on the threshold of victory. From this you can see that there is nothing superior about the white man. He can be fought and he had been fought before. Why can't we do the same in South Africa? If we can stand together we can sweep everything before us. This is the question you must ask yourselves in Sophiatown. You must rally everybody and protect your families and property. I can speak on behalf of the leaders in this Province that on that day we will all be here.

I want to tell you about 2 new instances which are still fresh in your minds. If we also do so we will be able to defeat the government. You remember in 1946 the people of Alexandra Township were asked to pay a higher bus fare which was 5d from 4d. They organised against the rising of the fares. It was said that the cost of running the buses has increased. The people of Alexandra called a meeting and said our wages had not been increased too. Then the bus owner asked the government to appoint an arbitration board to arbitrate. The Arbitration Board decided in favour of the increased fares. The people of Alexandra decided to walk to . . . city and back. They did this for only 2 days. The government and the bus owners gave in to the people. This was a great triumph and victory for the people. You can also do the same in Sophiatown.

The people of Western Native Town also boycotted the trams. Then the spies went about telling the people that the Europeans are going to kill them and that they are powerful and that they will have no transport. Today no trams run to W.N.T. This was possible because of the united strength of the people. If we stand together nothing can happen to us. If you in Sophiatown can stand against the government you can not be removed. You have the support of the South African Congress. Remember 2 of the gallant Indians were arrested at a conference at the Odin because they identified themselves with you. Last Sunday you heard Dr. Dadoo that veteran leader of the Indian people, that undaunted leader of the Indian people.

Today you have Mr. Cachalia who have also identified himself with you, who is one of those arrested at the Odin, who identified himself with you last year. The Europeans have organised and established the Congress of Democrats, which is to organise the European's opinions. This organisation is going to play a decisive part in the establishment of a true democratic government in S. A. The government is afraid of this organisation.

In all the meetings I have addressed since I took part in politics I have never witnessed some things which I have not witnessed before. I don't know if the people in this meeting have realised what is taking place in this meeting. The young men have come in an overwhelming majority. The Africans are denied education in the country. Today they take part in national organisations. This is a fact which is very significant. Which can only be seen by those who are observant and are taking notice of the development of the young men. These young men do not fear the white man. These young men can be taught to hate the people who are illtreating them and the white government making oppressive laws against them. The writing is on the wall when we will crush the forces of reaction and to defend our homes and prevail over the forces of reaction. I want to end with a song which had definite meaning to the African people. The song - Sesuthe says Malan is a frightened man together with his government. Come Lutuli, and take over the Government.

Chairman said:

Sons and daughters of Afrika. No rain can make us to run away. Let God bring His rain. There is a list going about among you to sign and say in it that you don't want to move from Sophiatown only the men who believe that Malan have power over them will not sign the list. There will be a meeting of the volunteers at the corner of Meyer and Victoria on next Sunday a meeting under the auspices of the A. N. C. will be held there. We will have Nokwe and Makgothi to address us about China. I want to say to Mr. Mandela and Cachalia you are going to be with us and speak. The bannings of Swart are going to be set aside. You are going to be with us until we sweep the forces of Fascism. You the parent must not call the young men tsotsis. They are the soldiers of Africa. You must know by playing dies you are postponing the emancipation of the African people.

On Sunday when Nokwe and Makgothi speak I want thousands of youth here. We are not prepared to leave our properties and go to Meadowlands where the Municipality is going to take over. No rain is going to stop the Africans. They are determined to fight for their freedom and live like men not as boys. We are told that God first make mad those whom he wants to destroy. We must not wait for God to destroy them because they will destroy us first. Let us assist God in destroying them. We demand freedom during our own lifetime, not in 1963 when Malan is

dead. We say we want freedom before Malan goes. You must no longer allow the Police to raid our women for beer. You know when a man can interfere with wife, it is when he does not regard you as a man. Are you going to allow these police to handcuff our wives? My wife will never carry a pass. Will only carry a pass over my dead body. I am the only person who can give my wife a pass. People don't come to meetings but go to Church. They have been told to pray to God if they want to go (to) heaven.

Interpreters: - 1. Mahune 2. N. Motlana. People seen in this meeting: S. W. Mgwendu, S. Tyiki, S. Segalo, Chairman when closing prayed that God gives them wisdom of Solomon and strength.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE MIDLANDS REGION
OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE, HELD AT THE REGENT
THEATRE, PIETERMARITZBURG, ON 5-12-54, REDUCED TO WRITING
FROM A TAPE RECORDING BY D/SGT. P. C. SWANPOEL.

Dr. W. Z. Conco (Speaking in English):

. . . Before we start, before we sing the national anthem, I would like to make this announcement, that this is a conference of the Congress of the People, and people who are in here, and other observers, who have not been duly authorised or given permission to come in and take active part in . . . and delegates who represent their organisations where they come from, and everybody who does not have those particulars, is not qualified to remain in this hall. Anybody who has not got a ticket with the nature of his branch at the door, does not suppose to be in this meeting. It is in fact a private meeting, a conference, so I would like to make that announcement right at the beginning. So if anybody who is neither an observer, nor a delegate, accredited to be in this meeting, he will please leave the hall. Well before we start our business ladies and gentlemen we will stand to sing the national anthem.

(The last announcement was followed by community singing of the song, "Kosi Sikilela Afrika," in Zulu and another Bantu language.)

Dr. Conco (Continuing to speak in English):

Well before I commence with the meeting, I just have a few short explanatory remarks about the conference we are holding here today. This is a conference. I would like to have an interpreter please.

Indian Male (Speaking in English):

Mr. Mabida will you please come on the stage.

Dr. Conco (Resuming his speech in English. Translated to Zulu by a native male.)

This conference is a conference of the Congress of the People, Midlands Region. The Congress of the People, as some of you might know, was formed following the resolution passed in Queenstown last year by the African National Congress, and the conference instructed it's executive to organise and prepare for a conference of the people of South Africa. The executive of the African National Congress did that and called several conferences which took part in the campaign for the Congress of the People. The organizations which are regarded as sponsoring organisations to the call of the African National Congress

are as follows: First is the African National Congress, the mover of the Congress of the People and the South African Indian Congress which also is a sponsor. And you will remember during the defiance campaign that the African National Congress went jointly with the South African Indian Congress to lodge the defiance campaign in 1952, and they have been allies for quite some time. At the beginning of this . . . came in the Congress of Democrats, which also is a sponsoring organization. Then we have the Coloured People's Organization, which is also a sponsoring organization for the Congress of the People, and we have . . . invitations to attend to the Liberal Party and I am not certain of their position now, but what the Liberal Party are taking, but it is taking quite a lot of interest in the Congress of the People, and I am informed that they have had their party observers and it might happen that there are a few people from the Liberal Party here as individuals and we'll welcome them at our conference.

This Congress of the People, many conferences have been held to organise the campaign for the Congress of the People. We've had the chief, the main conference, the Natal Conference which was held in Durban, and the up-country attacking conference at Ladysmith and and we are now having our Midlands Region of the Congress of the People today. The explanation of what the Congress of the People is, we'll get along with the speeches that will come along. I don't think I'll take time about what duties the Congress of the People are to do, but all I can tell you is that the Congress of the People is the first conference of its kind when all the peoples of South Africa, irrespective of race or colour can endeavour to formulate the freedom charter which is the ultimate aim of the Congress of the People. You will remember the Vereeniging Convention, the South African Convention, which formulated the formation of the Union of South Africa. That was a one-race conference, and therefore it did not represent South Africa.

Well ladies and gentlemen, without wasting your time, we have got amongst us here the man who is going to open this conference, and before I go on to ask Mr. Resha to speak, I would like to introduce to you all the people who are here in front of you at the table.

Mr. John Hoogendyk, representing the Congress of Democrats from Durban. . . and Mr. Mungal, the secretary of the Midlands Region of the Congress of the People (Applause) and thirdly the man who is about to speak to you, Mr. Robert Resha (Applause) who is on the national executive and a member of the secretariat of the African National Congress and also the president of the Youth League of the African National Congress and . . . many other organizations. Mr. Resha is from Johannesburg. On my left is Dr. Motala, my colleague in the profession. He is the chairman of the Congress of the People Committee, Midlands Region. They are joint chairmen with Mr. Archie Gumede, on my right. (Applause) Miss Mkize from Durban, stalwart of all the organizations,

the African National Congress Durban and the Women's League in Natal. (Applause) Mr. N. T. Naicker, Durban secretary of the Natal Indian Congress and Mr. Mabida, joint secretary of the Congress of the People, Midlands Region. And before I call on Mr. Resha to officially open this meeting, I will ask you to give the call of the organization which sponsored this movement - Africa! Africa! And I will now call upon Mr. Resha to open this conference of the Congress of the People, Midlands Region. (Applause)

Robert Resha: (Speaking in English, translated to Zulu by a native male.)

Afrika! Afrika! Mayibuye! Mr. Chairman and friends. Allow me to bring to this conference warmest fraternal greetings from the African National Congress and from the African National Congress Youth League. I gladly accepted the invitation to open this important conference because I regarded it as an honour, for the venue of the conference and its very composition symbolises the turning of the wheels of freedom. Friends we are meeting here today at a crucial time in the history of mankind. We are meeting at a time when the world is divided into two hostile camps. On the one side are the forces of progress, freedom and democracy, advancing day by day in their noble fight for laughter in the world, while on the other side the forces of reaction, oppression and fascism determined as they are to wage war notwithstanding the threat of extinction with the world's safety as the result of the existence of atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs. The latter forces of course, are shrieking for response.

On the occasion, on occasions like this, we must not overlook the masses of people of Asia who have succeeded in driving imperialists out of their country and show solidarity with those who are still engaged in struggles to uproot imperialism in action, for through their victory, humanity stands to benefit. Even now the freedom-loving people of China are threatened with another war by the Imperialist America, under the pretence that they are defending Formosa, when in fact they are defending their stooge, a criminal, Chiang Kai-Shek. We hope and pray that wiser counsel will prevail and that America will stop interfering with China. If of course America is still . . . what happened to their forces in Korea will be repeated by the people of China in greater force, for let us be assured friends that there is no force in the world to stand before the marching force of the forces of freedom. While they rejoice over the victories over the people of Asia and other continents, and disregard their struggle for freedom and national independence, let us also realise that the driving away of the imperialists from Asia and other places will place into grips the markets of Africa with imperialists, if they allow them to make Africa another war arsenal. Already America is building war bases in many parts of Africa. France is definitely trying to destroy the liberatory forces in Tunisia and Morocco. Britain has for quite a year undertaken a war with our brothers in Kenya. It is here that some of the worst crimes have been committed by the British

soldiers under the pretext that they are combating the so-called Mau-Mau terrorists. A great son of Africa, Jomo Kenyatta and other leaders of the people are now languishing in gaol. Thousands of innocent souls are in the concentration camps . . . forced on the . . . of women because they refused that their husbands were, belonged to the Mau-Mau. Children have been shot. All these atrocities are committed of course in the name of democracy, for by democracy the imperialists mean the oppression of the Colonial people. They must therefore understand that this jungle method that employed Her Majesty's Air Force to make Africa the battlefield for future imperialist wars

From the opening remarks you will realise that our struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa is . . . of which the struggle is veritable the world over. In South Africa the people are facing a crisis. Throughout their period of government the nationalists have shattered completely in frantic determination implemented their policy of destroying every vestige of human rights which the African in particular, ever possessed. It's . . . of the non-European people has taken the nationalists nearer to their goal of crushing all the people of South Africa under fascist terrorism. During the last six years of the nationalists' rule in this country, we have witnessed unprecedented racial discrimination, and sessions of parliament have been characterised by the pattern of legislation designed to oppress the non-Europeans, to suppress their aspirations and their legitimate demands, and finally to . . . one who do not accept apartheid. At the end of this process of course, South Africa will be a full-fledged fascist state along the lines of Hitler's Germany. This . . . Suppression of Communism Act which has had us in suppression of the liberatory movement in this country, many of us here have fallen victims of this damning piece of legislation. They have been proscribed, banned from attending gatherings, banished and confined to certain areas. As a result of measures of this act, those dearly beloved leaders of the people, in the names of Chief A. J. Luthuli, president-general of the African National Congress (applause), Dr. G. M. Naicker, acting president of the South African Indian Congress (applause), Mr. M. B. Yengwa, secretary of the African National Congress (applause), Mr. J. N. Singh, secretary of the Natal Indian Congress (applause), Mr. Debi Singh, Mr. Simelane and Mr. Meer, and also most gentle daughter of Africa, Fatima Meer. Yes friends, we are missing here today that most industrious worker for freedom, Mr. M. P. Naicker (applause) and many others who cannot be with us here today, not because of their own will, but minister Swart has decided that they should not be here. Lest we forget, let us make allowances today, that these men and women, sons and daughters of this soil will be with us long after Swart with his police, with his government, with his militia and all the oppressive laws, shall have vanished from the

The Bantu Education Act, which is the destruction of education for the African people, and an instrument of cheap labour, like the Labour Bureau, Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act, Native Re-

cruiting Corporation, farm gaols and youth camps, it is the most inhuman piece of legislation ever to be enacted in this country. It is designed not merely to shackle down the people physically, in a condition, but also to shackle them mentally. What is most brutal about this act, is that it is directed firmly against the African children. It is in this very act that the symptoms of nationalist fascism is crystallised. . . . nationalist disregard of life and human rights are exposed by this measure. It is an evil that must be fought and defeated. It is a poison that our children cannot be allowed to swallow. Then it goes on. The Group Areas Act, which is designed as an economist regulation of the non-European people. There are of course, many other acts, which, because of the time I have, I cannot enumerate them all. Suffice me to say that they are all designed to pave the way for the founding of a nationalist republic. A republic which of course, will follow the pattern of Germany and Italy during the time of Hitler and Mussolini.

After serious consideration of these atrocious measures and the gravity of the situation, the African National Congress at their annual conference held in Queenstown in December last year, decided to bring about a convention for the people of South Africa. . . . Europeans on the founding of the Union, when they made the Union of South Africa, a Union of the minority whites. In other words a Union of Europeans against the majority section of the South African population. That at this convention we'll give the people of South Africa the opportunity of stating their demands. With this end in view the conference directed the national executive of the African National Congress to confer with other national organizations in bringing about a Congress of the People. Their work is evidenced by the fact that we are meeting here this morning. Since then the four national organizations in this country, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured People's Organization, and the African National Congress have decided to co-sponsor this campaign for this great assembly of the Congress of the People.

But these organizations have not been satisfied that they have come together to sponsor the Congress of the People. They have gone out of their way to invite other organizations to participate. The Liberal Party, the Nationalist Party, the United Party, the Labour Party, have all been invited to take part. They have done so because they believed that freedom is not a privilege of certain people. They have done so because they believed that the people of South Africa will not only be free when only members of the African National Congress are free. (Applause) They have done so because they believe that if only the non-Europeans are free in this country and the Europeans are oppressed, there is still no freedom in this country. (Applause) They have realised that much as these four organisations are the spokesmen and speak on behalf of the oppressed people of South Africa, there are those disgruntle who do not want to be associated with these organisations. Yet, those people must

not be denied freedom because they do not belong to these organizations. Yes, they did that because they know that there are those organizations, European organizations, such as the Nationalist Party and the United Party, who do not believe in the freedom of everybody, except the freedom of their leaders, who must go to Parliament to misrepresent the people of South Africa. (Applause) Therefore the Congress of the People is not only as assembly of the organizations which are existing in this country, but it is an assembly of the people of South Africa, whether they are against the organization or not. From its face value one would say, by this time, everybody and every organization in this country should be a co-sponsor to the Congress of the People. Yes, it is also because there are those people in this country who believe that the Europeans can only be free when the non-Europeans are oppressed. There are those people who believe that the white man can live happy in this country if the non-European is unhappy. All those, my friends, will never make a happy South Africa for us all. Yet, in this assembly of the people we invite people with different thoughts, to come and state their demands. Yes, if the nationalists believe that apartheid is suited to the people of South Africa, they must come to the people's congress and say it is the best policy for South Africa. If the United Party believe that integration is the best policy for this country, then they must come to the Congress of the People and say so. If the Liberal Party believes that people have to qualify in order to be . . . then they must come to the Congress of the People and say so. If the Indians say that they too are the sons of South Africa and demand every right, then they must come to the Congress of the People and say so. (Applause) If the African National Congress believes that South Africa does not belong to the Africans by virtue of their colour, but it belongs to everybody who has made South Africa his home, they must come to the Congress of the People and say so. (Applause)

To further . . . the programme of the Congress of the People, Chief A. J. Luthuli, the president-general of the African National Congress and the national Volunteer-in-Chief for South Africa, issued a clarion call, calling for 50,000 freedom volunteers. It is significant that Chief Luthuli made his call on the 26th of June this year. June 26th has become a historic day to the people of South Africa. For it is on that day in the year 1952 that the sons and daughters of this soil, of all colours, of all creeds, defied the unjust laws. That was the first act to bring about unity of the various groups that made this South Africa their land. To the oppressed people of South Africa, therefore, June 26th is a day of re-dedication and pledge. So that when Chief Luthuli called for 50,000 volunteers on that day the powers that be became frightened. They who intrigue in Parliament began to attribute motives to the calling for 50,000 volunteers. Their imaginations became active. They began to see high treason. They began to see everything that the 50,000 volunteers were not going to do in this country. Yet that is not surprising because the government of this country is always thinking of 50,000 police to raid the non-Europeans of this country. (Applause)

What, therefore, are the tasks of the 50,000 volunteers? The task of the 50,000 volunteers is this. They have to go to every city, to every town, and to every township, to every . . . to bring about regional committees, provincial committees, and local committees for the Congress of the People. Moreover, they must collect the demands of the people of South Africa, and above all prepare for that great day, the assembly, when the freedom charter will be drawn by the people of South Africa, a freedom charter which is not accepted only . . . but a document which will express the aspirations and legitimate demands of the people of South Africa. A document which must not only be prepared by doctors and lawyers, teachers and leaders of religion, it must be a document which must not only be prepared by students and workers, but it must be a document which must be prepared and accepted by all the people of South Africa in all walks of life. This, the task of the volunteers therefore, must be to make the people of South Africa to speak together of freedom, to go together forward to freedom. For we believe that South Africa will be free when every man, woman and child can be

Yet friends it is not going to be easy for us to have this assembly in South Africa. . . . Men like Strydom are already frightened because they have realised that when the people of South Africa have decided to choose their own prime minister, he will certainly never be a prime minister, let alone be a member of Parliament. (Applause) All Africans who believe that they can be free in South Africa when they hate the Indians, can never hope that they will have a place in South Africa when South Africa is free. (Applause) All Indians who believe in oppressing the Africans . . . from . . . the nationalists can never hope to have a place in a free South Africa. (Applause) It is a composition we see in this house this morning, that can make a true South Africa and I hope and pray that those who find themselves in this house this morning will go out of this house convinced as I am, that the only way to save South Africa, is to work together as South Africans. (Applause) I have the pleasure therefore, Mr. Chairman, to open this very important conference in the Natal Midlands. I thank you very much. (Applause)

Dr. Conco (Speaking in English, translated to Zulu by the same interpreter.)

Ladies and Gentlemen. We are very grateful to have had a man like Mr. Resha to open our conference this morning. I think he has made clear all those points which are left to the speakers to be explained about this great gathering we are having this morning, and as we still have some speeches before lunch. But before I commence on our programme here, I want to thank Mr. Resha for the way he has presented to us the great conference of the Congress of the People. And I am sure all the people inside here will send greetings with Mr. Resha to the Transvaal, that we here in the Midlands Region are carrying on the struggle of the Congress of the People.

Well our next item on the programme will be the chairman's . . . will be the messages from the representatives of the sponsoring organizations and first of all we have got a very important message that was just received by telephone and unfortunately the message was cut at the exchange from the most important part. The message is from Chief A. J. Luthuli, president-general of the African National Congress. (Applause) Well, I will ask the secretary, Mr. . . . to read

(At this point the tape is reversed.)

Dr. Conco (Still speaking in English):

. . . Mr. Mabida will interpret the other messages. These are written messages. After the written messages we will have people who are sending messages, personal messages, from their organizations they represent

Unknown Indian Male (Speaking in English, translated into Zulu by a native male):

The African National Congress. Dear Friends. The executive committee of the African National Congress, Transvaal, on behalf of the democratic African people of the Transvaal, salute your committee at the regional conference for the Congress of the People. In the face of the most vicious attacks on the rights of the people, let us work courageously for the gathering of the demands of the people and to the great charter of freedom for the building up of a democratic South Africa. Let us speak of freedom. Long live the Congress of the People. Mayi-buye Afrika!

COPY OF NOTES MADE BY NO. 37442'N/D/CONST. SOLOMON DUNGA,
AT A MEETING OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, HELD AT
ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP ON 10.4.1955

Meeting held at No. 2 Square, Alexandra Township on Sunday, 10th April, 1955.

Estimated attendance - 50 N/persons.

Meeting commenced - 10:45 a.m.

How advertised - Unknown

Collection - £ 1.2.11 1/2

Chairman - Abel Meti:-

Fellow Africans we have met here today to discuss the new type of Education which is due to be given to our children. This is slavery Education.

Mathopa S.:

Fellow Africans this is your time to stand on your feet before it is too late. Everyone in his home country should try and show his people that he is God-beloved. This is your time to show it since you Africans have been given more power than a Whiteman. That is why they deny you every right in this Country. Just for instance to prove that we are a fierce nation in our very place where we are Africans only you will find Europeans running after us because they are frightened.

Fellow-Africans awake. Do not be frightened by people who want to retard the mentality of your children. While they want that their children should progress. This form of Education is not from yesterday. From January the teachers were given special training on Bantu Education lines. The teachers have refused to implement this form of Education. Let us show the world that God loves us too. If he did not love us he would have not given us this Country. Why should we not therefore help such people like the teachers who have refused to implement this slavery form of Education. In this Country when we clamour for our rights we are said to be Communists. I do not care whether I am called a Communist or not but as long as I am not a Communist I am not worried at all. I do not know what a Communist is but if Communism is fighting for your people's rights and freedom then I do not see the reason why I

Notes submitted as evidence in the Treason Trial of Farid Adams and Twenty-Nine Others. Reel 18, L. C., Washington, D. C.

should not be a Communist. These people say that you cannot teach your children at home. If you do so you will be arrested. Also you cannot employ a teacher to educate your children since he will be arrested. Why? In conclusion I want to say that we do not agree for this form of education to be given to our children. If you cannot help yourselves against Bantu Education you had the better take nooses around your necks and go to hang yourselves in the Bush.

Some Churches are like what we call the Assemblies of God who give the assurance that they will respect their Chief (Verwoerd). How can a Church adopt un-Christian principles as those of apartheid? The children who will be taught in those schools will never go any further at all. These Dutch people are getting scared when they see our people passing in M. A. 's and B. A. 's. They say through their laws they will be able to retard our progress but they are all wrong. We have everything in the palm of our hands. There is nothing to worry about. Let us march forward and unite fellow Africans. Every African must be under the A. N. C. Flag. We can do nothing without this flag.

Mngoma V. :

Fellow Africans the Minister of Religion says in Church that you should do good to your neighbour in order to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. This Minister of Religion is Malan who says all this and who does not at all do that. He has the nerve of employing his dogs the police to chase us around day and night. All of a sudden today Malan is determined to murder our childrens minds while they are still young. Today we bear children for Malan that he can do anything with our children. He is assuring what Verwoerd says he regards the Natives as nothing else than oxen and donkeys. Verwoerd will not do that here. He will have to teach that form of Education to his Dutch boys. We, Africans, want progress whether Verwoerd likes or not. These children he is talking about daily are our children and if we do not want them to live its better that we cut off their throats. Let all who write for him tell him that I, Miss Mngoma, has said on behalf of the Africans: "To hell with his education." To defeat this Verwoerd Education it is necessary to withdraw our children from the Verwoerd Schools. We should build our own schools.

Mdaba, C. :

Fellow Africans we are in great sorrows from the vicious Dr. Verwoerd, who says our children should swallow poison. Do you agree that Verwoerd should do this? Well, if you do not like its better for you to withdraw your children from the schools.

All those who love their children should withdraw them from the Verwoerd Schools from being taught that Verwoerd is a God. Our men are in gaols for passes and yet you people still say that they are afraid of being arrested. When this country is free I will become a Minister

of Justice. Let us die for our children from being crippled mentally be Verwoerd. When I speak I do not refer to my children alone. I speak on behalf of all African children. I will never send my children to the Verwoerd schools.

Radebe, James J. :

As we are speaking presently brethren the Dutch Govt. is frightened. They wonder what to do next since they thought they had done to a finish with the Africans.

Just now they were framing passport restrictions and all of a sudden whilst they are making these restrictions we hear that Moses Kotane and Maulvi Cachalia are far away overseas attending a very great Conference attended by many powerful nations. They thought that their treachery will never be divulged to the world contrary to their propaganda. Moses Kotane is prepared to die for the truth since he knows that when he comes back he will be thrown into gaol. But he knows he will be arrested for telling the truth. Some time back Dr. Nehru of India gave a big donation for people who wanted to study in India and the Boers took the money to drink brandies with it. As far as education is concerned we should be determined to teach our children the right form of education. We do not entertain the idea of the Churches who were helped by the parent in building these schools and their churches and when the Dutch people come to tell them to close those schools they do so without consulting the parents. The Minister of Religion says that this form of education is bad but they cannot help it. They must get money. That is why we say today religion has failed in its objectives since they have now dropped their faith of fearing God and Christ but now fear Verwoerd. We do not say you must be afraid to come into our organisation. We as the Nations leaders will be the first to face danger. We are not hypocrites to tell the people what we do not do. These children will become men and women tomorrow, and it will only be your fault not to shape your children's futures. We are boldly calling out to you to withdraw the children from the slavery schools. In the 3 hours during which the children will be in school these children will be taught Bible studies, Zulu and cleaning the classrooms. The Dutch in the farms say that every African is going to be an ox, a donkey and a tractor on their farms. How long will we be patient? Even Jesus himself got fed up to thrash his opponents. This draws your attention to the fact that when war-time comes it must just be war and nothing else. We must fight to the last man. So when we fight against the Verwoerd education we must just be determined by ourselves as the other nations who fought for their education. We are not going to the slavery form of education.

Chairman Abel Meti:

You have all heard what our speakers have said. We do not accept Bantu Education.

Kgoma:

The speakers, country men have said everything except one thing they did not discuss, a certain point. As you all know that you have been carrying exemption Certificates. I wish to announce to you that you will be deprived of that certificate and be given a green reference book. This is very bad in any case. It seems to me that by next year we will be told not to wear long trousers because they will all be reserved for white people only. It is the mother who holds the sharp blade of a knife. We must try our best to fight for our children's rights. I appeal to you for financial assistance in order to face the forthcoming battle, £ 1.2.11 1/2.

Manyathela:

I just want to tell you fellow Africans what I am determined to do. I have now solemnly volunteered to give your children education, the form of education that you would like to have your children to be given. Jesus was killed by the government of the earth. So what is the use of you being Christians when you cannot help yourselves in solving vital problems. I as for myself have made my application to become a teacher in the New Congress Schools. I do not want to hear anything from Verwoerd. Another foreigner can tell us something but not Verwoerd. The Dutch boy who claims to be an Afrikaaner says we are Bantu. What is the meaning of Bantu? Do they know? They do not know. One of my friends who was a Dutch Reformed Church Member was given a span of oxen to sell his nation.

(Signed) Solomon Dunga.

COPY/HFP/6.
25.4.56.

COPY OF NOTES MADE BY N/D/CONST. SOLOMON DUNGA AT A
MEETING OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS HELD AT
ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP ON SUNDAY 8th MAY, 1955

Meeting on Sunday 8th May, 1955 Notes. Commenced 10 a.m.
Attended 60 persons (N. f&m)

Abel Meti, Chairman: Fellow Africans we have met here today to discuss the problems facing us in our struggle against oppression by the Nationalists. Today we are going to discuss the Pass Laws and the Congress of the People. The passes are responsible for the increase in crime in our places. We shall also discuss the Congress of the People which is not a new organisation but a confirmation of all the well-known organisations which represent the whole population of our country. I will call upon my first speaker Mr. Mashamaite.

J. Mashamaite:

The Dutch will take out their books and write as well as the rebels. I want to tell all such people that their days are numbered. I wish to advise them that they should now while they still have time come to join the African National Congress. The A. N. C. chairman has given me an opportunity to speak on the passes. The pass is the first thing which oppresses the Africans. The pass came into existence during the time of General Botha and the A. N. C. protested against it. Again Smuts and Hertzog introduced a new form of pass which was abolished recently when the Nationalists introduced what they call "dom-pass." We never saw that it was a dom-pass; but we were told by the Police that they were dompasses. You pay 3/- for this same pass and inside it there is what is called a permit. Now you will also see how this pass is a foolish affair. People cannot even sleep in their places they are awakened for the same pass. It has everything inside it and that is why I condemn the same pass. In Alexandra Township however there is nothing like a permit and yet you will get arrested for it here just the same as you would have been in a Municipal Location. Verwoerd promised the farmers that he was going to get them cheap labour. He knew that an African could be arrested at any time under the new pass regulations in order to send the Africans to the farms. The A. N. C. is therefore determined to oppose these new laws and passes because we never see any

Notes submitted as evidence in the Treason Trial of Farid Adams and Twenty-Nine Others, Reel 18., L. C., Washington, D. C.

flying squads stopping Dutch boys for passes in this country. The Dutch were the people who ought to have had carried passes since they are the foreigners in this country. But still the A.N.C. stands for everyone irrespective of race, colour or creed.

The African National Congress is representing the detectives who are working for Swart. And yet fellow Africans if you cannot join the African National Congress and here disunited you will be playballs for the Dutch boys until you all die. Today we find the parents of the children in this country saying that they will not join Congress since it leads them all into gaol. But they fail to understand that their children are led into gaol just the same as if they were still members of the A.N.C. This pass, fellow Africans, must be watched closely. It is taking away your freedom. It is not you alone who are oppressed, even the police are also oppressed. Every Dutch boy we call should come and join the African National Congress. It does not help to say these Dutch policemen are free; one thing remains, they are ours, they must be with us at every meeting and will not leave until we adjourn our meeting because they are all oppressed. Their boss is sitting comfortably in his house . . . or is shooting game in the Kruger National Park. My last message is to you, fellow Africans. The Africans all know the pass, what it is. The Dutch also know what the pass is. They have also given it a name, the "dompass." Everywhere in the farms the Dutch are trembling that they are sucking the blood of the Africans. In the mines you will . . . Dutch old men and our African elders who are in anguish . . . labouring hard for their living. You the youth of Africa must go to all those in the mines . . . are in anguish and tell them to awake from the sleep of ages. I tell you today that the European domination in this country has come to an end. If only you could unite tomorrow you would be ruling yourselves on Tuesday. The Dutch call themselves Afrikaners but we are Africans. You see they bear witness to the fact that they are really foreigners. But what is wonderful is that they have called themselves after the Afrikaner cattle. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me this chance of passing my message to all the Africans to go and call their brethren to join the African National Congress and identify themselves.

Solomon Mathopa on "Congress of the People".

I now must call upon each and every African to bring ones wife to this square because your wives are nannies and I know that they bring up the children of the Dutch people. The Dutch in turn tell their children that the nannies who are looking after their children are "kaffer meids". That is why therefore, I say to you Africans should get your wives together with you when you come to this square and that will help us to teach our children that the white people are our foes. Are we going to be called kaffer meids because we do not want to unite?

I shall now come to the passes. I shall first tell you where the Africans who are J.C.'s and matriculants. They are taken by the Government and used against us instead of coming to us and become our leaders. They do so because of the passes. We of the A.N.C. are standing for the truth. Where have you ever seen a white man being demanded to produce

passes, and yet J. C. 's and matriculants join the Police Force and do not know why they sell out their own nation.

The Congress of the People requires that every worker in the country should say out his or her own complaints and send them through their delegates from all the freedom loving organisations and all Nations.

Abel Meti: There will be a meeting at No. 3 Kerk Street where the election of the delegates to the Congress of the People... You must bring foodstuffs.

M. Motsele:

During the past past few weeks we were demanding that the children should be withdrawn from the schools. Our appeal started in April and will go on until Africa is free. You will see things with your own eyes. The gogga which has been announced to banish the peoples leaders will not have to ... us but will have to open our eyes to see what real Verwoerd is. The person who sends a deputation to Verwoerd is not pleasing to be seen in front of us. We call upon the ... to identify themselves with the African National Congress. All of you who are here are sent by us to enter this township and organise the masses. You have already heard of this great assembly of nations in this country. You all hear that there is a great assembly called the United Nations, but S. A. is not represented in the United Nations because they are nothing to us. We the people who ought to be electing our own delegates. We appeal to and write Strydom to attend the C. of P. on the 25th June. Congress appeals to everyone, football players and the police to send in their complaints to the Congress of the People. We also call upon the Dutch policemen in the flying squads to send their complaints to the C. of P. and never to sit in the flying squads which are not theirs and think that they are free

The 2 1/2 m of Europeans in this country are oppressing the 12 million non-Europeans in this country. If you go to the platteland you will find thousands of Europeans who are poor and live on mealie pap. They are oppressed and they must send their complaints to the Congress of the People.

We are gentlemen in this our organisation. We shall never chase the Dutch away when they come to join us. We are non-violent. The war we are waging is like the Dutch war which they waged against the English after they had been denied ... right to participate in decent education. Whatever the Dutch might presently do against our struggle we contend that we are right because we follow their example of 1816. We shall put our feet... where other nations went and follow them. Collect all your complaints and send them to the great Congress of the People, women, men and children must send their housing, transport and other complaints to the famous C. of P. Today we are demanding that Nats to show us their little deeds of this country. If there was apartheid they should have not come to this country. They have transgressed the creation of God by coming into our country and when after all that was done they started to proclaim apartheid in this our own country. They have the

audacity to say that we are not christians. But our God is not bought by monies. Our own God created us and we are christians from birth. If as Verwoerd says we are few I should then say to the world we are the mighty few. When the Dutch were defeated in blood river they prayed their God to help them to defeat the Zulus and that if he could grant them only that they would keep the day for remembrance. After all that they founded the D.R.C. The D.R.C. is a bad religious organisation and every African must leave this church. When Swart was tried for treason in 1914 he said Ek is op my reg and we also say ons is op ons reg.

This is a continuation of the struggle which started as the programme of action in 1949. Even the Schools boycott and the withdrawal of children from the schools is embodied in the great programme of action of 1949 which will continue until we obtain our freedom. We have done away with begging the government as it is not begging us. You will remember that in the past years congress wasted a lot of money sending telegrams to overseas countries. You must send this complaint of yours to the great Congress of the People. You will hear these Nats saying of a man who speaks the truth overseas. Do you hear him, do you hear him, he is blacklisting S.A.'s name abroad. They do not realise the fact that they are blacklisting the name of S.A. abroad by illtreating the other peoples of South Africa.

The Chairman here says that the spear to stab your enemies with is money. We want your money fellow Africans. We want a lot of money today because our struggle is going on. I want every parent now who has not joined Congress to come to join congress. Think of the future of your children and come to Congress. Congress is a spirit of the people. The money you have collected is £1-19.

Meeting adjourned 1:30 pm.

COPY OF NOTES MADE BY NO. 19844, N/D/SERGT. JOHAN TABETE
AT A MEETING OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, HELD AT
NO. 1 SQUARE, JABAVU, ON THE 15th OF MAY, 1955.

Sunday, 15th May, 1955, I attended the A. N. C. meeting at Jabavu, No. 1 Square. The meeting commenced 11:30 a.m. to 4 p.m., about 50 attended. W. M. Shope - Chairman; following speakers:

Mane Doreen Motsabe
Nkosi L. Masina
European N. Sijake

Shope said (it) is now a long time before we hold a meeting here. We got a permit today from T. Clerk. We shall speak about Bantu Education which the Government introduced to us that our children should have it whether they like or not, also about packed trains which stop only 3 minutes in the station, but that is Railway regulation about trains. I shall call my speaker who will tell you about things in this country and what is happening today in this country.

Mane said I would like to tell you that the Nationalist policy is out of the way for 300 years; this Government does not want to give us freedom. Today the Government is recruiting new police every day to fight us. They can do what they like but we want our freedom. Hitler did the same. Where is Hitler today? This Nationalist Government does not Indians, Jews. People of Kenya are killed everyday because they want their freedom. We've been talking English . . . Afrikaners . . . this Government does not understand. . . . what happened in Korea and America. Korea said we are fighting for our mother land. Friends, we must unite. Police today are only looking after us. Some police officials were sentenced by the Judge last week for theft. Today Government says there is a place where they are sending all agitators. Dutch people were oppressed but they were never called agitators or Communist. Government says the black man has no right in this country, but the day will come . . . will be no saying by . . . Government. Government can ban all our leaders. New leaders will be born every day. Government is taking people from farms to Parliament where they are making those dirty laws to oppress us.

Doreen Motsabe said Chairman and people of white city, I don't see people in this meeting. Further, I would like to say this, I know you all heard that a native woman was arrested during the school boy-

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cott at Donaldson School. That was . . . some people are asking every . . . how is the case. I don't tell them. I always tell to come to the meeting. I would further tell you this, the case is coming on 17th May 1955 at Kliptown Court. I appeal to you all to tell your wives to come to court on 17-5-55. If you people don't attend the meeting, who is going to fight for you? You remember our leader Gwetshe, who was deported from Cape Town to Northern Transvaal, is now sent to Mafeking. One Monare of Benoni is deported to Cape Town, left his family at Benoni. For what this Government is doing, it shows that . . . he does not know what to do. Vundla at W.N.T.S. he told the parents to take children to school after the decision of the A.N.C. that no children shall go to school. Vundla, N. Komo, Lengene, Xuma are Government Spys. Today those people are always in G.G. car to Pretoria. Every day we say away with Bantu Education; we want universal education.

Nkosi said some people joined South African Police and Municipality Police, also Advisory Board School Committees, all these are the people employed by the Government. I will say something about a child of Africa who will die for Africa is B. Monare of Benoni who is been deported to some where, I don't know, just has been talking about freedom of Africa. I will read a message from him. (He then read the letter from E. Monare of Benoni who has been deported.)

L. Masina said I am the leader of trade unions. I have been overseas, but I won't tell you everything about that because police are here. They want to know what I have been doing there. . . . long ago in South Africa were no one was working for some one. When white people came here, they make some one to work for them. Today if you see an African having a shop, you can always say this man is a robber. Where did he get money from to build a shop; it's because you know that Africans got no money in this country when Europeans came to this country, they make others slaves. They pay them low wages to keep them down as we are today. In Russia and Moscow I saw a big building which is being built by women, no poor people, no rich people. These people are all equal there. I am not talking about Dutch people. They got no These municipality police are only getting L2 per week. Even Tabete and his company, they must tell Sgt. Moeller that they must get same salary. The only thing you must all join trades union. If you are all under trades union, everything will come all right. We must ask Government not to employ 16 year old boys. That is why today many factories employ young boys, to pay less wages. Even in the factory today, if you are impimpi informer like Tabete and his company, you can get more money to sell your people. By selling your own people you get more money as Tabete does. This is a time that we should have our trades union in every branch wherever you are working. There is a new name called South African Congress Trade Union which I am the Chairman of it.

During 1953 Schoeman said no Bantu union should work... in this country. In the Parliament house they only speak for rich people. In some factories some Dutch people will say choose your own Committee and that man will act as your manager. He will go and tell the boss of that factory not to pay you enough money.

European speaker said Congress of the People is not a thing to join only to go about and speak to your people about it and tell your people what do you think about it. The Freedom Charter is the Congress of the People, elect some delegates and send them to the Congress of the People. You write to your friends in the reserves and talk about Congress of the People, also ask them what is happening there, why they have no cattle, no land. You cannot do anything without uniting. The Government is doing things without telling you today. Some people say children must go to school, some say no. The Congress of the People is for everybody about Sophiatown Bantu Education. These people seated in the fly squad car which Government bought with stolen . . . from you, they are sitting there like monkey nuts . . . (Before he said further, he was arrested, taken away.)

N. Sijake said I speak as one of the slaves in this country. I am speaking about Bantu Education. Police can shoot, kill, arrest. I remember one of our leaders, Gwetshe, was deported from Cape Town to Northern Transvaal, now is again deported to Mafeking because when he came to Northern Transvaal he tells the people there the truth. That's why (he) is again deported to Mafeking. Teachers are to be warned not to teach Bantu Education in schools. Tabete and Vundla does not matter how they . . . spying for Government, but they cannot stop the people's spirit. Today Verwoerd is prepared to arrest and deport any of our leaders.

Just this afternoon our speaker was arrested because he was telling you the truth. We shall fight this Bantu Education till the end. If we A.N.C. failed to defeat this Government, we shall ask other countries to help us with guns. A man like Tabete and Vundla we shall deal with when the day comes. One day we shall say to Tabete and Vundla we do not want any more oppression. We are oppressed by cruel enemies like Tabete and Vundla - knowing that Verwoerd will never listen to us. What is happening at Bethal? People are killed every day. Time has come. Bells are ringing now. People feel pain . . . shall break No. 4 jail. We want universal education not Bantu Education.

Resolutions passed.

- 1). Protest against deport of Monare.
- 2). Condemned Bantu Education.
- 3). Welcomed Trades Union Congress.
- 4). Protest against arrest of European speaker.
- 5). Send all your demands to the Congress of the People.

(Sgd.) J. Tabete

1/N/D/S 19844

16/5/55.

NOTES MADE BY N/D/CONST. SOLOMON DUNGA AT A MEETING OF
THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS HELD AT NO. 2 SQUARE, ALEX-
ANDRA TOWNSHIP, 29.5.1955.

Meeting commenced - 30 persons, estimated att.
Chairman - Abel Methi.

1st Speaker - J. Madsunya:

The Government of this country is manufacturing laws in order to oppress the African people. Hence the African National Congress is determined to fight all these oppressive laws which are meant to supply cheap labour for the Dutch farmers. In the reserves when an African wants to go and work in the Urban areas the Government Authorities tell them to go to the mines or to the farms. Our Africans dig the whole wealth from underground under death working conditions. They contract T.B. and Pthisis and die like dogs having been sold to these Dutch people at sixpence a head. Everyday our people are harassed by the police for passes and permits. Our children are asked for permits right inside our houses. Is that not slavery? Mind you they do not trouble the European youth for passes and permits. Why? If that is not enslaving our people - is it not savagery, barbarism and an uncivilized method of robbing our people of their liberties. Why can you therefore after all this, not unite under the banner of the African National Congress? The Government seeing that you are an enlightened people - introduced the Bantu Education Act so that they should be able to control your childrens minds in the future. This kind of education aims at instilling into your childrens minds that they must never again be able to help themselves in any sphere of life. They must become oxen and asses to the whites. They must not think in terms of equality with the white people. They must be taught to know what they are told to do by the whites of this country. Why, for instance under Bantu Education do our children not get instruction in Geography. Its only because they must not know that the gold, diamonds and Silver which this country produce ought to belong to them. (African Children). Why do they not teach our children history? Just because the children should not know that Jan van Riebeeck came into the country as a thief in 1652 but only that your children must be under the impression that the Europeans are the original inhabitants of this country, who were born a master race. Why further do they stress the Bible instruction under the Bantu Education Act. It is because our children must know how to kneel down and pray and not to worry that they are oppressed. And only

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to think that they will get their own freedom in heaven.

Dr. Malan for instance is a Doctor of Divinity. A man who is supposed to be teaching fraternity and equality but instead he is teaching hatred and is therefore a heathen. He teaches Afrikanerdom. Its funny, we blacks are Africans and the Dutch have no right to call themselves Africaners. In fact more than that - we are true Christians. If for instance, Malan or Strydom or Swart comes to us to say he wants to join the A. N. C. we shall have to accept him but if one of us goes to them they will kick him out. These Dutch people have mentality of the Germans under Hitler who was the disciple of the Nazi Meinkampf. They said the Germans were a chosen race by God. There is not a single nation which was chosen by God to be a superior over another.

Just recently Verwoerd threatened that if children did not turn up for school on the 25th April they would have no other chance of going to school again. He turned to the teachers and threatened to sack the teachers if they did not teach the parents and convince them that the Government's intention to introduce Bantu Education is good. We believe that we shall achieve our Freedom during our lifetime.

In 1925 Mahatma Gandhi said that he wanted to see India free in his lifetime and he did see it. And if you are also determined to get freedom in your lifetime you shall. Do you know what kind of Government we want to establish? We want to establish a Government which will consider no colour prejudicial legislation like the present. To recognise everybody as a human being and we want that everyone should have equal rights and opportunity like another. We want the Africans to live where they want to live.

Abel Methi - Chairman:

Fellow Africans I call upon you now to work very hard. We want everyone to become a member of the African National Congress. We must organise the nation as a whole. The A. N. C. is fighting for the freedom of the African people as a whole. The Nationalist are oppressing everyone whether he is an informer spy or not. Let us fight against this Government politically by organising our forces against the Nationalist Government. Wake up fellow Africans!

Mathunywa:

Fellow Africans. Time is at hand that we should go to meet Malan at the Cross-roads. Fellow Africans we are at a time of hardships and we are called upon to wake up to take our path towards freedom. Speakers here have said that Malan and his whites came here under the cloak of religion to deceive our people. To show that the Europeans are liars they sold us land in Sophiatown and today they are taking it away from us. They also brought education to us and today they lie by saying their education is not suitable for us. Today Verwoerd has shown

us what his work is. His work as a Minister for Native Affairs to manufacture dirty laws for oppressing us. He is said to be a Doctor of Philosophy. Why should we not call him a murderer for the evil that he does against us. I do not see that Verwoerd can become our Minister because he was chosen by his fellow Dutch Boys in order to oppress us. We are as a protest against Verwoerd's Bantu Education opening up private schools for our children seeing that this Bantu Education is a menace to the mentality of our children. This kind of education is not new. It has been all along called Native Education but this new form of this type of education is the worst. Hence we have decided to open our own private schools where our children can be taught proper education. Many of you fellow Africans are quite qualified in teaching but your certificates do nothing for you. To make use of them let us engage ourselves in educating our children. These certificates do nothing for you since when you go to town to seek for work they do not consider your education they need your references. In short, fellow Africans, you can also see that Verwoerd is prepared to use any force to keep us under the yoke of oppression. We must be prepared to support our private schools.

Abel Methi:

Fellow Africans the time is gone already. You must go and work. You should try and organise for the congress and preach people that freedom is our target.

Phineas Nena:

First of all fellow Africans we must sing a song that will subject your blood to hear.

. . . .

Mr. Chairman, Sons and Daughters of Africa as your have already heard that I am to address you on the C. of P. I shall pass to you the message from Chief A. J. Luthuli that every inhabitant of S. A. who is an African should contribute to the work of organising from house to house in this country for all though a man might now be in a . . . drinking heavily one thing remains that same person is oppressed. You are therefore called upon to get busy and collect the demands from your neighbours which will be included in the Freedom Charter. Dr. Malan before he came into power used not to sleep, collecting the Dutch People's demands for the Volkswil against the British domination in this country. I do not see why you fellow Africans should be reluctant in working for your nation which is oppressed by passes wherever they are? Why should you not see that you can buy nothing with the average wages that you are getting. Every resident with a family in Alexandra Township must submit his demands for the Freedom Charter. What we want is that every Sunday from next week each man must come to the meeting with the people's demands. We want the people's demands for our freedom. By the 5th of June we should be able to know how many delegates you will have for the 25th June, for

instance, our chief demand is that every man must earn at least £10-10-0 a week.

J. Mashaimita:

By . . . this year we will have to have achieve our freedom even if these Dutch can employ about 5 million policemen definitely in spite of all that, we will have achieved our freedom by December. I want the informers to write that down. I personally am an African who never crossed the seas to come into this country. I do not worry about informers even if they might have passed S. A. Fellow Africans as I speak here my heart is full of blood. You all veterans of freedom should struggle forward and hold on strongly on the Congress. You should realise that Malan's ancestors came here with boats to rob our people of their rights. Van Riebeeck came here with his Dutch boys without wives and they married our forefathers' daughters. You Africans have seen that these Europeans you have been all along trusting to be angels from their heaven Europe have come here with evil to oppress us by all their might. All that I want to tell you is that Congress has no secret and will go on discovering who is a policeman amongst our ranks. Another thing is that on the way to town people are arrested on their bicycles for passes and that is why we should include this in our demands as Mr. Nene has said. All that is needed is for you to help in organising the congress of the people. If your wife tells you not to go out to organise because you will be arrested, tell her every time you do nothing a policeman will arrest you for beer and for passes. So I say to you all the Government of Strijdom and Swart is coming to an end by December of this year. To do all this we want money. Money must be collected as much as we can. £1.8.8 1/2.

Meeting closed at 1:30 p.m.

EXHIBIT G. 205

COPY OF NOTES MADE BY N/D/CONST. P. MDUNGE OF A MEETING OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS HELD AT C/O MORRIS STREET AND VICTORIA ROAD, SOPHIATOWN - 8.1.56.

Sunday 8.1.56. The A.N.C. meeting opened by a n/male called Simon Tyiki acted as a chairman. In opening his remarks he said:

We have been opened our meeting when the dutches then don't like us to pray. Also God had been give us this country but the dutches have took all the richness of our country. Today the freedom is in our hands. Especially do not despair and loose hope the freedom is in our hands. As I am speaking here I am brave even though I see the Afrikaaners to make the Africans to be slaves. Unfortunately they are five minutes late. The africans are united every day. There is no apartheid, there is no Xosa, Zulus, Basutos and Swazies. They are all united. When dutches doing this things to africans they will be the days coming. We are going to rule them in this country of our motherland. But I am very sorry for these African Police because when the day comes they will be chased away by the dutches.

1st Speaker - P. Magofe.

Mr. Chairman we are gathered here to discuss about these matters which takes place in South Africa. I want to speak to the Africans and Polices which are under department of Swart. These Police is their time to join the A.N.C. because congress is their Govt. The Govt. provides the hard laws to oppressed the Africans. So that the africans will have no chance to get out from these slavesium position. Remember the B. Authorities Act and Bantu Education. The teachers those who have agreed the Bantu Education they have no place for accomodation and wives also those who are agreed these African women Pass Laws they have no chance or place for reside. You should know that Mallan and Strijdom they don't like the Africans to get free and live in peacefull. These dutches they should choose where and to do because the laws and Government is going to fall under the Africans and going to rule this country of South Africa.

2nd Speaker - A. Mashaba:

We have already meet the freedom. And no doubt of our freedom. We have been in the slavesium for a long time but today we are nearly go our freedom. Our people are suffering at Northern Transvall so that they need help from you. On 28.12.55 I

Notes submitted as evidence in the Treason Trial of Farid Adams and Twenty-Nine Others, Reel 3, L. C., Washington, D. C.

have been gathering by people about 500 natives. Some of them have been asked me to send them the letters also I have sent 50 of Freedom Charters there at North Transvaal. The people of N. Transvaal are very suffering for Bantu Education. Also those people they have been asked me what decisions we take here in Johannesburg, and what is the discussion we discuss. The point which I had gave them is that is to abolished all those nonsense of Bantu Education. We people of A. N. C. we doing job so that this will be carried out no matter the Govt. does not like. This country of Africa is belongs to Africans. Especially we shall not loose our freedom. We shall rule this country of our motherland.

3rd Speaker J. Chabanku:

For the first place I would like to explain you Africans accordingly to the dictionary. To all of us we are human beings all of us are created by God. The black continent of African is coming. It is no use men to afraid the dutches and they become the owners of this our country in South Africa. We A. N. C. we are here speaking about our freedom in future also we shall have a great things for our motherland. As we are human beings we should have died for the truth. Also you men you are cowards you afraid of going to jail, for passes, we women we are not afraid to go and work in jails. Even the Govt. can ban all of our leaders some of us are coming up. Also we congress we are not afraid of anything because straight talks break no friendships. We can better die than to carry those dirty pass, we can go to work to jails and be arrested hundreds a day as our brothers are use to be.

Robert Resha - 4th Speaker:

Mr. Chairman and Sons and daughters of Africa. We start a new year and we must talk the truth. Nationalist Party are prepared to oppress the Africans. Also we are going to . . . consider as under circumstances. We begin the year 1956 for the women passes. Your sisters are going to carry passes. Also they are going to sleep at Newlands because they have not in position of his or her pass. Your wife and your sisters are going to Pass Office also they are going to be examined before they are given those passes. Why women are going to carry passes. What is the reason these dutches make our wives to carry passes, what for? For many years men carrying passes and they want to arrest men and women for Pass. Because of passes the dutches have got free servants through the passes. There are many children have been banned here in Sophiatown haven't got their fathers their fathers have been killed by the dutches at farms. The white people have been able to do what they like to do with African men, The women will be arrested and go to gaol when they are coming back from jails they will come back with babies instead of our wife not to carry passes we should join the Police force so that we shall be able to get our women free of charge. Also this Pass Act is not the first time

even 1913 the Govt. have been done the same what he do today but those women have gained that they should not carry passes. Especially even the women of 1956 I don't think that they are going to carry passes. Even the passes are not banned the women are not going to carry passes. Also my wife she is going to carry this dirty pass when I am in 6 ft. deep or being arrested. Especially these pigs wives of the Police they are going to be the first people to carry passes.

5th Speaker - Gordon Makhothi:

Mr. Chairman and Sons and Daughters of Africa, I am very pleased for the speakers who have been spoke before me. As this congress is the job of all nations. Also I wish the congress can go forward and success. Our intentions is to get our freedom and be live in peacefull. Especially in 1956 is the new year we should get and find our freedom. The dutches have been thought that the Africans are enjoyed for removal from Sophiatown. Even the dutches are from Pretoria to inform them that they are going to shoot the Africans at Sophiatown. The congress is the biggest nation of our country. The Africans are going to success in this fight because all nation who are fighting for their freedom they have been successful. When the day we have prepared we shall surpass the Govt. and rule this country. This Govt. of the dutches it shall be fall. This country we don't want to be ruled by the Afrikaners we want to be ruled by the Africans. We shall get our freedom by our own time. Not the time of the dutches.

AFRIKA!!

COPY OF NOTES MADE BY NO. 19844 'F' N/D/SGT. JOHAN TABETE
AT A MEETING OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, HELD AT
MOROKO-WEST, ON 29.1.1956.

A. N. C. meeting, Moroka W., Sunday 29.1.'56, 11 a.m. to 1:45 p.m.
50 both sexes attended.

Chairman D. Manele.

Speakers:

E. Malele
T. Myakale
Mrs. Nhlapo
M. Ranta
J. Poo
Unknown N/Male who read resolutions
Bertha Mashaba
H. Joseph

D. Manele said:

I greet you all. I am sorry to see no mothers in this meeting because this meeting is called for women who are in danger to carry passes which are introduced by to them. . . ; even 16 years youngsters too may carry passes.

Your children's education is being taken away by this Government to you cannot do or say anything because this is Police State. Now its for you people to see what you can do about Police because they stay here with you people. I think the best way is to get rid of the Police.

Strydom must build them houses at Parktown or else where today our leaders. . . (are) banned by this Tabete and his Company. Strydom never sttends our meetings, but Tabete and his Company (does); the day will come Tabete and his Company will answer.

1. E. Malele said:

Friends, I am standing in such a bad time as I am standing here. I am in Police hands. I can be arrested any time. Today Police are not assisting people but killing people; this morning was a raiding in every house for K. Beer.

Mothers are to carry passes; apartheid is in force, but still people say apartheid is O.K. Today apartheid is not only to get people out of

Notes submitted in evidence at the Treason Trial of Farid Adams and Twenty-Nine Others, Reel 3, L.C. Washington, D.C.

Town, today apartheid has a baby named ethnic Grouping. Ethnic is born by this apartheid.

Apartheid will soon work here at Moroka as is already working at Site and Service Scheme Townships NSutus, one side Zulu, Xhosa, so on; there is apartheid even in schools, apartheid is working, we A.N.C. say away with apartheid.

This Government sees that we are now united, he then introduced apartheid to separate us at the pass office; you can see people are so worried by this pass law that at the Parliament house today there is a new bill about working classes. Natives shall not do Coloured's works, so on. I appeal to all Ministers and Advisory Board Members to Church people, women, to be with us.

Just before Strydom, was there a man called Hitler? Where is Hitler today? Strydom already sees what is going on today. All Church women should come to the Square to fight this Nationalist Government with us; our struggle is non-violence.

Bantu Education is to send your children to farms (at) Bethal and O.F.S. Some time back we spoke to teachers about this B. Education. Teachers said this was better than nothing; today teachers left schools and join(ed) the Police Force. Some are informers; some are Detectives; today some of our members are with Government to oppress us.

D. Manele said:

Hitler was killed by workers; if force is necessary to crush this Nationalist Government we shall do so. We want no apartheid in our Townships. Strydom can make apartheid at Parktown and Vrededorp, not here. I shall call upon my speaker to you about Trades Unions.

2. T. Nyakale said:

Our people are not prepared to come to the meetings at Meadowland; things are so bad you can not stay with your 16 years in your house.

Please remember that some of our people (have) been working for this Government in Gold mines. Today this Government is sending your children to farms at Bethal O.F. State. Today Government wants our women to carry passes. I shall talk about Trades Unions. The time we founded (the) Trades Union people did get about L15 per a week. Today wages are cut to L3 per a week and L1.15.0. Today at Parliament is a bill for Europeans only.

I appeal to all workers to join the Trades Union. Some womn (have) been getting L6 per a week. Soon as this pass law comes in force they will get L1.15.0 per a week. Friends we must unite under Trades Unions. I appeal to you all to join Trades Union.

3. Mrs. Nhlapo said:

I see no women in this meeting but (there) should be more women than men; it seems to me that the women do not care whether we carry passes.

We women should unite to fight this pass laws; women of Moroka do not attend (the) meeting. If one tells them about (the) meeting, they say you are (a) liar; today a child of 12-13 years shall carry passes.

I supposed to see many women in this meeting, but they went to church.

4. M. Ranta said:

I greet you all under peace mouth of A. N. C. if thing is a truth here even in heaven is a Truth. Nationalist Government is making this country a Police State.

Today (the) Government is introducing passes to women, (it) is not satisfy to send our children to Bethal and our husbands to O. F. State. On 26th June 1955 at Kliptown we said people shall govern this country, we A. N. C. said people shall rule this country.

Some years ago the Government said O. F. S. should carry passes; they refused under A. N. C. We S. African women we shall not carry passes, we must unite.

Last year we went to Pretoria. Verwoerd ran away; he didn't want to see us. I am here today . . . give (the) message to all women to go from house to house organising about this pass law that not one woman . . . carry this pass.

I can be arrested even now by saying this, no women should carry a pass; I don't care. We women should preach even in the Factories that no women should carry a pass. We shall fight this Government till we win our rights. Chinese are free today. Germans did fight Hitler; they are free today. That shall happened to Strydom. Women of Indochina and French (France) did fight for their rights. We must do the same.

5. J. Poo said:

I will talk about Site and Service Scheme where people (have) been robbed (of) their money, also about B. Education. What is Bantu Education? Even in the history is no name Bantu. If we agree to this Bantu your children will be kicked away from here to Bantu country; where is it?

Therefore, we don't want Bantu Education. We don't know the Bantu, if we accept this Bantu then (there) will be no more advisory board, (there) will be only Bantu Authorities, we want no Bantu Authorities.

Because Bantu is a factory for all bad laws, if we agree to Bantu Authorities this country will be a Police State. White people came here and build church houses and (a) Zoo, as we are here at the Zoo. At Site and Service, houses cost L260.0.0. 20 years list at L2.17.11 per month. We A.N.C. have counted this money we get (pay) L721, within 20 years at L2.17.11 per month (is) not L260 as they say. That is robbery of people's money. We want no houses but land to build our own houses. There will be no Bantu Education, no ethnic grouping, no pass laws, no Police State in our Township, no Police raidings.

6. Unknown N/Male read resolutions:

This A.N.C. meeting held at Moroka West Square, today 29th January 1956, strongly protests against:

1. Passes
2. Police Raidings
3. Bantu Education
4. Grouping Act, and 5). Removal Scheme

7. Bertha Mashaba seconded the resolutions. She said:

I am pleased to be here this morning. I can see that the Moroka people are prepared to fight this pass introduced on women Many of our women go about with Ministers. They don't come to the meetings. I see that we A.N.C. are better Christians as you all know yourselves how bad these passes (are) today. If you talk about this pass you can be arrested. I don't care whether I am arrested. I will stand in front of you and tell you not to accept these passes for women.

In the Freedom Charter we said passes will be abolished. (The) whole morning I (have) been listening here. I heard every speaker protest against these passes on women. I also seconded all the resolutions passed in this meeting under (the) A.N.C. held at Moroka West Square on 29th Jan. 1956.

8. Mrs. H. Joseph said:

Sons and daughters of Africa I bring a greeting to you from (the) Federation of S. African Women and Democratic People of S. Africa.

We are supporting you in your struggle about this pass law to women. Women all over the world are with you in this struggle. Women will never tolerate this, even white women are not prepared to carry this pass.

Myself, I shall not carry it, unless they force me and catch me by the neck. We are with you in your struggle about these passes on African women.

Johannesburg,
30 January 1956

(Johan Tabete)	No. 19844 'F'
(signature)	N/D/Sgt.

APPENDIX C

BANNED LEADERS AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

1. Transvaal

J. B. Marks	N. Mandela	Dr. D. Mji	F. Boshielo
M. Kotane	O. Tambo	Dr. H. Motlana	J. Motshabi
W. Sisulu	D. Tloome	D. Nokwe	I. Moumakwe
D. Bopape	G. Sibande	G. Maeka	F. Morris
J. Mavuso	E. Motsoaledi	G. Ngake	A. Kunene
M. Seperepere			

2. Cape

J. Matthews	R. Matji	O. Mphetha	Dr. J. Njonwo
Dr. S. Molema	T. Ngwenya	A. P. Mati	R. Mhlaba
J. Ngwevela	G. Tshume	L. Phillips	

3. Natal

M. B. Yengwa	A. J. Lutuli	P. H. Simelane	T. Gwala
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SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

1. Transvaal

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo	I. Bhoola	Nana Sita	Maulvi I. Cachalia
A. M. Kathrada	S. Naigar	G. Sooboo	Y. A. Cachalia
R. H. Desai	P. Joseph	N. Thandray	

2. Natal

Dr. G. Naicker	M. P. Naicker	Ismail Meer	F. Meer
J. N. Singh	Debi Singh	S. V. Reddy	Cassim Amra

SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS

1. Transvaal

V. C. Berrange	A. Fischer	Ruth First	Joe Slovo
Percy Cohen	R. Bernstein	Hilda Watts	Jack Hodgson
Rica Hodgson	Eli Weinberg	Issie Wolfson	A. Selby
H. Wolpe	M. Harmel	A. P. O'Dowd	M. Muller

S. Rosenblat	A. Lipman	L. Baker	L. Joffe
C. Williams	B. du Toit		K. Kaplan

2. Natal

Roley Arenstein

3. Cape

S. Kahn	B. Bunting	R. Alexander	W. Kodesh
L. Warden	J. Tarshish	M. Butcher	B. Turok
B. Lan	F. Carneson	Dr. J. Simons	G. Coe
K. Gelvan			

SOUTH AFRICAN COLOURED PEOPLES' ORGANISATION

1. Transvaal

James Phillips

2. Cape

Frank Marquard Hettie McLeod

BANISHED LEADERS

M. B. Yengwa A. S. Gwentshe J. M. Lengsisi G. Sibande

APPENDIX D

THE FREEDOM CHARTER¹

Adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown,
Johannesburg, on 25-26 June 1955.

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;
that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;
that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;
that only a democratic state based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the People of South Africa, black and white together - equals, countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

¹Freedom Charter, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The State shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship, and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The State shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The Government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the State;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The Aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the State;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates - Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland - shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The rights of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:
"THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGH-
OUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."

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